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Aldus Manutius: The First Five Hundred Years*

By CURT F. BÜHLER

IT has been determined, by that happy mixture of deductive reasoning and intuitive inspiration which characterizes those kindred occult disciplines of bibliography and history, that the year of our Lord 1949 marks the 500th anniversary of the birth of that great Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius. The line of argument which established the anniversary year would not, I believe, meet the most elementary demands of the Rules of Evidence in any court of law on this side of—or including—the Kremlin, but the validity of this year as the proper one to celebrate this birth need not, I am equally convinced, disturb us unnecessarily. Some time in the late 1440's or in the early 1450's, the infant Aldo Mannucci first saw the light of day in the hamlet of Bassiano, a part of the Duchy of Sermoneta.

The verifiable dates that we possess in connection with Aldus' life and career are few, but even at that we know a great deal more about him than we do of most of his contemporaries. He

* This paper is a slightly revised version of the Trumbull Lecture given at Yale University, October 27, 1949.

certainly received his early education in Rome and studied under Gaspar of Verona and Domitius Calderinus. Our future printer is next found at Ferrara, studying Greek with Battista Guarino, the learned son of the great Guarino da Verona; shortly thereafter he had settled in Mirandola, under the patronage of his renowned friend, the scholarly humanist Pico. In 1483 or thereabouts, Pico obtained for Aldus (then aged 34) the position of tutor to his two young nephews, Alberto and Leonello, the sons of his sister Caterina Pio. For the next half-dozen years, Aldus remained at their palace at Carpi, eleven miles from Modena, teaching the lads both ancient tongues and the works of classical antiquity.[1] Thence he seems to have journeyed directly to Venice (probably in 1490) there to begin the new career which was to reward him more in terms of a lasting fame than with good Venetian ducats. The year 1495 saw the appearance of the first product of his press (the Greek grammar by Constantinus Lascaris), the beginning of that long series of distinguished publications for which his name has ever since been revered wherever "men of parts" gather together. In 1505, Aldus was relieved by the Pope from a vow to take Holy Orders (a vow which he had sworn to fulfill—not unnaturally, considering the medical skill of his day—when he lay critically ill of the pest); thereupon, he married (at the age of 56) Maria Torresano, the twenty-year-old daughter of the printer, Andrea of Asola. By her, Aldus had five children: Letizia, who died shortly before or shortly after Aldus' own demise; Manuzio, who enjoyed an ecclesiastical benefice at Asola till 1568; Antonio, who was exiled from Venice for some unspecified "boyish prank" (or worse) and who fled to Bologna where he became a bookseller; Paolo, the printer who fell heir to his father's business; and a daughter Alda, who married a Mantuan gentleman and had one son by him, named Julio Catone. Aldus himself died on the 6th of February, 1515; his

[1] Curt F. Bühler, *The First Aldine*, in: PAPERS *of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 42: 269-280 (1948).

body lay in state, surrounded by his books, at the church of San Paterniano in Venice, where a laudatory oration was delivered by the humanist Raffaele Regio. Aldus was buried, at his own request, at his foster home of Carpi, for the kind Prince Alberto had showed deep affection for his former tutor all the days of his life—and had even permitted the printer to make his family name (Pius) part of his own. These, then, are the facts of his life.

In any of the innumerable histories of printing written in the last century, and in any of the numberless works compiled for the benefit of collectors, one will find voluble and highly inaccurate accounts of Aldus' achievements as a printer. It is, of course, because he was a printer—and a very great one too—that we pay tribute to his memory; but it is not for those aesthetic reasons about which so much nonsense has been written and spoken. Aldus was not a great printer in the sense that Nicolaus Jenson or Erhard Ratdolt, or even his own father-in-law Torresano, were masters of the art and technique of book-making. His presswork was indifferent and his types were poor. It has been said—I believe, with all possible justification—that his Greek types set back the study of that tongue by three hundred years. His type-cutter, Francesco Griffo of Bologna, has been described too enthusiastically as "one of the leading designers in typographical history"—and Aldus himself penned the lines (with that complete lack of modesty typical of the Renaissance) in praise of his italic fount:

> Qui graiis dedit Aldus, en latinis
> Dat nunc grammata scalpta daedaleis
> Francisci manibus Bononiensis

("The same Aldus, who gave the types to the Greeks—behold now he gives them to the Latins fashioned by the skilled hands of Francis of Bologna.") But fortunately his Greek type ultimately fell into discard, and the italic fount has, by this time, found its natural and proper habitat among the footnotes of

learned periodicals. Psychologically, both styles of type were unsound, since they were modelled upon the hurried hand-writing of his day. For the Greek type, it is self-evident that whatever virtue quasi-stenographic shorthand may have had for Marcus Musurus while he was taking notes or writing informally, characters based on such scribblings were no benefit for the leisured reader and a handicap for those untutored in the current Pitman or Gregg. Again, in regard to the italic fount, it is just as easy to set upright characters as to set slanting type, so that whatever was gained by way of speed through cursive writing was not carried through to the printed book by the use of this style of letter. As a craftsman, then, Aldus cannot, I believe, be listed among the truly great—and if anyone should ask me about the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, I shall insist that this is the exception that proves the rule.

It was not, therefore, as a printer that Aldus achieved greatness but rather as a publisher and as an innovator—and primarily as a publisher of the first printings of the Greek authors and as a purveyor of editions, both accurate and cheap, of classical texts in general. Secondly, Aldus is distinguished as a great innovator in the development of typographical designs. Of his types I have already spoken—and if his experimentations were not altogether happy, they were at least significant in their own day and showed that Aldus' mind was actively on the move in fields other than classical antiquity. The italic type (the "Testo d'Aldo") achieved such popularity that it soon found imitators, despite the exclusive rights which Aldus managed to wrest not only from the Venetian Senate but also from three Popes (Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X). These monopolies were of little use to him, however, as Aldus' characteristic fount was counterfeited by Giunta at Florence and the Soncini in Fano—not to mention the extensive counterfeiting of entire Aldine editions which were made at Lyons and which Aldus bitterly denounced. By 1570 italic had become *the* fashionable vernacular type for

Italian and French books, but thereafter its popularity declined rapidly.

Much more important than these type-innovations were his experiments with the formats of books, leading ultimately to his "forma enchiridii"—the portable, small octavo now associated in our minds with the typical "Aldine." It was a real departure from tradition to issue the classics in small handy volumes rather than as the stately folios which his predecessors had produced, and the popularity of the small pocket book has never declined. It is, perhaps, due almost as much to its handy size as to the comfortable presence of the parallel English translation that the Loeb Library has enjoyed its astonishing success; but then, this may be too optimistic a view.

And lastly, Aldus was the man who first introduced the good book, sturdily produced and reasonably priced. Before his time there had been a sufficiency of "de luxe" printing for the moneyed trade—volumes printed on vellum and illuminated by celebrated craftsmen—and an even greater amount of the "cheap and nasty" had already run through the presses; but of good books solidly built and comparatively cheap there had been precious few, at least so far as we know today. Students interested in the economics of printing will find the necessary details concerning the prices of Aldines set forth in Renouard's great bibliography. Here will also be found an estimate of what the Venetian coins of Aldus' day were worth as compared with the French franc of Renouard's time. The first edition of Musaeus, we learn, could be purchased in 1495 at the price of one "marcello"—worth 68 centimes in 1834 and perhaps a quarter-dollar (certainly less than fifty cents) of our present money. In 1947, be it noted, a copy of this book was offered for sale at $1,600! Although Aldus did occasionally print examples on vellum and the firm put out (from time to time) special copies on the blue paper called "charta caerulea," the Aldine press at no time sought to cater primarily to the "large-paper racket." Aldus was interested

in producing good texts of the great masterpieces of literature, clearly printed on substantial paper, at a price at which poor scholars could afford to buy them. In short, Aldus was busily producing exactly the sort of book for which, we may surmise, he searched in vain in his own student days.

Since Aldus' reputation rests so largely on his activity as a publisher, we should turn now to the output of his press. If I have counted aright—an hypothesis not to be lightly accepted without careful check—the Aldine press issued 132 books in the twenty years of activity under the personal direction of the founder of the firm. Of this total 73 are classical works (34 Latin and 39 Greek) as compared with but eight in the vernacular and twenty contemporary works in Latin. Eighteen items are schoolbooks, exactly two-thirds of which are in Greek. Contemporary science with five Latin texts, and religious books with a total of eight, played a very minor rôle at the Aldine press. Indeed, there was practically no liturgical printing done and little (if any) work was undertaken for the Papal curia (the staple for the Roman presses of the day). This, I think, will hardly surprise anyone acquainted with the history of the period—and with Venice's peculiar attitude towards the Papacy. In some respects, indeed, this parallels the position taken by that other great maritime power some years earlier. When the great Turk sat before the walls of Constantinople and the Pope was proffering help to the beleaguered city, the citizens of Byzantium are reputed to have cried: "Better the turban than the tiara."

But to return to Aldus. His real interest lay, of course, in the classics, and of these he printed an almost identical number in Latin and Greek. However, it is for his publications in the Greek tongue that he chiefly deserves our admiration. In his valuable and handy list of *editiones principes*, Sir John Edwin Sandys informs us that, prior to the death of Aldus, 68 Latin first printings were produced. The only works there credited to our printer are the first appearances of two fifth-century Christian poets,

Sedulius and Prosper of Aquitaine. When we turn to the list of Greek first editions, however, we find the situation quite different. Of 49 such works, Aldus printed no fewer than 30—or well over fifty per cent. Nor were these the works of obscure writers such as are met with in the case of the Latin *editiones principes*—for the roster includes such "firsts" as Aristotle, Demosthenes and Thucydides, as well as Aristophanes and Sophocles among the dramatists.

When one examines the career of Aldus Manutius, one must always bear in mind that the printer was producing his volumes in a period of the greatest unrest and uneasiness throughout the Italian peninsula, a period as ill-suited to the pursuit of literary studies and philosophical speculations as our own day. Wars were constant and foreign invasions almost continuous. After long years of freedom from transalpine aggressions, Charles VIII invaded the peninsula in 1494; though the French were driven out two years later, this afforded only a temporary relief. In 1498 Louis XII succeeded to the throne of France and shortly thereafter Italy was invaded again by French troops. Once more the French were driven out, but peace again proved fleeting for all. In 1508 the League of Cambrai was founded, partly on the theory that Venice had committed treason against Christendom by coming to terms with Islam. The offensive of the allies was completely successful; though the Venetians capitulated to the Pope in 1510, the terms were hard and bitter for the citizens of the Republic. Venice never recovered from this blow.

These could hardly be described, then, as times excessively propitious for a new venture in so competitive a trade as the publishing business then was. The events of the day are mirrored in the activity at the Aldine press. The "big" years of production were those of peace—1497 with thirteen books and 1502 with sixteen top the list, closely followed by 1501 and 1513 through 1515—each year with eleven items. Prior to 1506, Aldus printed 89 books and from 1512 until his death three years later no

fewer than thirty-two. In the years 1506 through 1512 he printed exactly eleven.

Not only were his presses stilled, but Aldus fled—or found it advisable to absent himself—from Venice for long periods during these troubled years. Was this because he was a citizen of the Papal states and proudly signed himself: Aldus Romanus? However that may be, he was certainly arrested—apparently by mistake—at Mantua on the 16th of July, 1506, and was only released by the Gonzaga at the insistence of the French Ambassador, Charles de Juffrey. He was in Ferrara in 1509 and 1510, and in June of that year found himself in Mantua where he was summoned to call upon Isabella d'Este. Aldus was back in Ferrara in 1511 and there he executed a last will and testament. By 1512, he had returned to Venice and his presses were once again humming after a two-year period of inactivity.

Nor were the external troubles of the Republic the only ones to plague Aldus. His shop was, apparently, one of the "sights" of Venice for the visiting yokels and the incredulous from the great hinterland—a sixteenth-century precursor of the Murano glass works which are today such a major attraction for tourists. "Veniunt igitur frequentes et sedent oscitabundi." "They come, then, in hordes"—Aldus complains—"and sit there gaping." To the problems inevitably incident to the operation of a press, we must add those which apparently revolved about his domestic life. The picture that Erasmus drew in his famous account of the living conditions in the Aldine home is not very reassuring—and one can easily see that Aldus' brothers-in-law were sporting lads of the worst sort. Quite obviously the young men were given to excessive gambling and to such villainies as the age permitted, and these were considerable. One may recall that, after the death of Aldus, Federigo Torresano was finally caught cheating at cards and promptly banished from the Republic. At a later date Aldus' son Antonio was similarly compelled to flee from justice. At the time of his father's death he was, of course, only a slip of

a lad, but one may well suppose that he was even then zealously perfecting himself in those paths of unrighteousness in which his uncles excelled. Troubles at home and troubles at the press, the Republic besieged and his books counterfeited—it can hardly be said that Aldus' life moved in an even, uneventful course.

This much for the historic Aldus. Let us see what he and his work mean to us nowadays, for there are some who will question their importance. Have not these books been catalogued for years, are they not minutely described in standard bibliographies, have not the professors and learned scholars of the past 450 years extracted from these volumes every scrap of information likely to be of value? Nevertheless I affirm that we stand at the very threshold of a new era of discovery among Aldine imprints. The productions have been listed, it is true—and they have been consulted by scholars—but neither bibliographers nor literary students have examined these volumes with that careful attention to bibliographical niceties which is considered standard procedure in these later days. To cite one example: the diary of Alessandro Benedetti (the *Diaria de bello Carolino*), a work of great importance and interest to the medical historian, is one of the chief scientific incunabula printed by Aldus. For years the syphilologists have been clamoring for a reprint—preferably, of course, accompanied by an English translation. Yet I do not believe that many medical bibliographers are aware that one cannot simply reprint the text as it appears in *any* copy of the original. There are stop-press corrections, some of major importance, which appear in some copies and not in others. But not even when all these stop-press corrections have been accounted for does one possess the text as Aldus wished it to be issued forth. What Aldus printed, alas, was not always exactly what he wanted to say. For example, according to Aldus' printed text and to the reprint of it as supplied by Eckhart as late as 1723, Benedetti is made to state that Charles VIII, in moving his army north to meet the enemy at Fornovo, marched his troops from Naples to Siena to

Rome to Pisa—clearly an impossible route for anyone not entirely bereft of his senses. That is what the printed text says, however—yet every one of the twenty-three copies that I have seen contains manuscript notations (occasionally very faint, it is true) which correct the text. For over four hundred years no scholar seems to have taken the slightest notice of the numerous manuscript corrections of this nature which appear in the pages of the earliest Aldines. In this case the manuscript marks simplify our problem, for they tell us that the text needs correction here and that what Benedetti had written (and what Aldus wanted to say) was that the army had moved from Naples to Rome to Siena to Pisa. There are numerous other emendations.[2] Corrections of similar nature are certainly to be found in the Musaeus and in Bembo's *De Aetna*, both printed by Aldus before the turn of the century. Stop-press corrections are also known for the Aldine Pliny of 1508, as George Parker Winship and Arthur E. Case have previously pointed out. Other inquirers may wish to determine whether or not emendations of this sort are also to be found in the later productions of the Aldine press. Of one thing we may be quite certain. Aldus would have been as pleased as he would have been incredulous had anyone foretold him that half a millennium after his birth such scholars as Dr. Dorothy Schullian would now be laboring to re-establish the purity of his texts so that we might have his books in the form he wished his readers to have them.

As Aldus lay dying in his house in the Campo di San Agostino many thoughts and reminiscences must surely have crossed his mind. The boy from the foothills beyond Rome had come a long way! His friends were numbered among the great and powerful of the land: Federigo Gonzaga (Duke of Mantua), Pico Prince of Mirandola, Andrea Navagero and Daniello Rinieri (Senators

[2] Curt F. Bühler, *Stop-Press and Manuscript Corrections in the Aldine Edition of Benedetti's "Diaria de Bello Carolino,"* in: PAPERS *of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 43: 365-373 (1949).

of the Republic), Jean Grolier(the French ambassador in Italy), and, of course, Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi. The printer had been accepted as a peer by the greatest scholars of his day—Desiderius Erasmus, Giovanni Battista Egnazio, Giovanni Gregoropoulos, and Thomas Linacre (to name a varied group)—*all* of whom had worked for him. Distinguished members of the Church were pleased to join him in the Aldi Neacademia: Pietro Bembo, secretary to Pope Leo X and a future cardinal, and Marcus Musurus, who became Archbishop of Malvasia shortly after Aldus' death (to be exact, on the 26th of May, 1516, as my colleague Dr. G. K. Boyce has recently discovered). Aldus' reputation as a scholarly printer had spread far beyond the limits of the Republic—and if imitation be the sincerest flattery, then the printers of Lyons gave adequate proof of the high regard in which they held him. Though the Aldine press had been profitable, it was not (it is true) an outstanding financial success in that great commercial metropolis which Aldus had chosen to make his home. Nevertheless, it provided a living for him and his family, and after his death for his children and grandchildren. For a full century the printing shop provided a competence for three generations of Manuzii. It had been a good life for him, Aldus must have felt as he lay there dying—and what may well have been the greatest satisfaction of all was the sure knowledge that he had been a publisher "il qual ha fatto imprimer molte opere Latine et Greche *ben corrette*."

Principles and Standards of Bibliographical Description

By William R. Parker

LET it be noted for the record that in the year 1949, with the publication of two books having nearly identical titles,[1] the study of analytical bibliography in the United States of America impressively came of age.

Until the present century most of the interest in bibliography was either dilettante (i.e., prompted by appreciation of fine craftsmanship) or purely enumerative, the work of collectors and cataloguers. The rule-proving exception was the early work of the incunabulists, whose careful labors eventually inspired others to adopt more nearly scientific aims and methods. Then, in the first decade of the twentieth century, with the discovery that some Shakespeare quartos had false dates in their imprints, the importance of analytical bibliography for textual studies began to be recognized and this new instrument of research began to have systematic application. It so happens that this was also the time in which The Bibliographical Society of America was organized (1904). In 1913 R. B. McKerrow decided that there were enough interested persons to justify the publication of some "Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students and Editors of English Works of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Fourteen years later the study of analytical bibliog-

[1] Bowers, Fredson. *Principles of Bibliographical Description.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1949. xviii, 506 pp. 9¼ x 6¼ inches. $10.00. *Standards of Bibliographical Description.* By Curt F. Bühler, James G. McManaway, Lawrence C. Wroth, [1946-47] Rosenbach Fellows in Bibliography. [Seal] [Introduction by John Alden.] Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. viii, 120 pp. 8½ x 5½ inches. $2.50.

raphy had developed to such an extent, in England, that McKerrow published a book which promptly became a standard in its field, his *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students.* It was still, however, and remained for another decade or so, a field conspicuously dominated by McKerrow and some of his countrymen, notably A. W. Pollard and W. W. Greg. A few Americans, but only a few (like J. Q. Adams, G. W. Cole, E. E. Willoughby, and G. P. Winship), exhibited their interest and skill in this newer kind of research. But during the thirties and forties a whole generation of younger Americans—men like the authors of these two books, and such others as W. H. Bond, Giles Dawson, William A. Jackson, Francis R. Johnson, and Charlton Hinman, to mention a few of many possible names—literally or figuratively sat at the feet of the English masters, and made their contributions to *The Library* or to these PAPERS. As the interest grew and the quality of research improved, American graduate schools slowly recognized the new field. In 1940 the Modern Language Association of America introduced into the program of its annual meeting a regular discussion group devoted to Bibliographical Evidence. In 1948 appeared Volume One of the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia.* Now we have these two books. One contains three informed opinions, from different points of view, on a question which the English masters had often raised. The other, that by Fredson Bowers, is an ambitious, exhaustive attempt to provide an authoritative answer.

The question is this: Is it possible and desirable to formulate universally acceptable standards of bibliographical description? Dr. Curt F. Bühler replies that, for their own field, the incunabulists have long since done so, and that save for minor modifications (a dozen of which he proposes with great modesty and persuasiveness) their traditional, internationally accepted system, exemplified by the *Gesamtkatalog,* had better be left alone. Unlike bibliographers of later centuries, they cannot be asked to ex-

change chaos for order; the proponent of any new system is in effect asking them to scrap the only formulary thus far actually accepted by a numerous, world-wide group of specialists, and to rewrite the most impressive body of bibliographical description yet in existence, that of ninety per cent or more of the extant books produced in the fifteenth century. Here Dr. Bühler might have rested his case, like a devoted co-builder of a baroque cathedral declining with thanks the blueprint of a new, streamlined church. But he had read most of Professor Bowers' book in manuscript, and he felt called upon to say, without irony, that it left him "very dissatisfied." He would have no quarrel with the Greg-Bowers formulary and shorthand if, as Greg intended, "it were confined to STC books or possibly to all books produced in the English-speaking world. But in extending it to incunabula, and thus by extension or implication to all books printed thereafter throughout Western Europe, the shorthand becomes subject to altogether too many exceptions and specific modifications to cover the existing circumstances in these books, and thus loses much of its effectiveness." Two details of the Greg shorthand he singles out for criticism: the historically unsound dictum that the index should always be an even number, and the arbitrary symbols π and χ (which assume the nonexistence of Greek books). In an Appendix of five pages Bühler mentions still other difficulties, but also admits, as he does elsewhere in a note, that "there are many suggestions by Greg which can be suitably adopted for incunables." In general, Bühler impresses the reader with his fairness and open-mindedness as a scholar—and almost to the extent that he does so, weakens his case, for concessions can be built on and specific arguments countered, whereas a *fait accompli* like the *Gesamtkatalog* has a striking eloquence.

Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth likes the idea of a universal formulary even less than does Bühler, for, while he names no names, he plainly believes that exhaustive bibliographical description of either the *Gesamtkatalog* or the Greg variety is a wanton mis-

application of time and energy in the field of early Americana. A few sentences here and there in his Rosenbach lecture suggest further that he suspects some bibliographers in other fields to be victims of the law of diminishing returns. In any case, his argument rests upon the fundamental assumption that "differences of intention on the part of compilers demand different standards of bibliographical description," plus the simple fact that bibliographers have only so much time and energy to expend. In his experience with Americana he has come to the conclusion that "minutely exact transcription and elaborate physical description of the book" seldom compensate for the time and energy involved. "Better to use that physical effort and cerebration in the study of the history and significance of the text in its relationship to subject and to other texts." The very nature of early Americana, or at least the nature of our past and present interest in Americana, requires this "shift of emphasis." But Dr. Wroth also makes it clear that, in his creed, "one has done only half his job when he has completed his description of the *form* in which a text has been presented to the world." Bibliographical research which ignores the text "closely approaches sterility."

Dr. James G. McManaway, whose own studies have been in the Greg-McKerrow orbit, is perhaps naturally more hospitable to the suggestion of a universal formulary. Most of his Rosenbach lecture is devoted to other matters: to the discussion of some printing-house practices not yet well known to bibliographers, such as the occasional storage of type for reimposition and the occasional making of contemporary type facsimiles; and to informed suggestions for more study of typography, paper, bookbinding, headlines, half-sheet imposition, etc., in English books of the period 1475-1700. He also quotes Greg to argue that the true bibliographer's insistence upon studying books as material objects is essential to the eventual contributions of analytical bibliography to textual criticism. But incidentally he deplores the fact that "there are almost as many methods as bib-

liographers," and he is convinced that the time is ripe "for bibliographers to take stock and to consider the desirability of setting up and adhering to certain standards and conventions of bibliographical description." He affirms three requisites. The primary requisite is "general agreement that the purpose of a bibliography is to describe the ideal copy of each book after the examination of every surviving copy"; the second is the establishment of a uniform terminology with "a precise definition of terms, particularly of state, issue, and edition"; the third is "a generally accepted formulary of collation," not absolutely rigid nor "so complex as to attempt to provide for every conceivable aberration," but providing descriptions which are concise, complete, and incapable of misinterpretation. He concludes with the hope that by 1952 a comprehensive formulary will have been published "which by its simplicity and reasonableness and by its high standards, will so impose itself on bibliographers that its terminology and formulae will be generally adopted both here and abroad."

Professor Fredson Bowers' long, learned, painstaking, and comprehensive *Principles of Bibliographical Description* tries hard to be just such a miracle-working book. It may be such a book. It will unquestionably make many converts; it will just as surely clarify the thinking and improve the practice of every bibliographer who reads it with care, be he incunabulist, expert in Americana, or advocate of Basic-Renaissance English in matters of description. This reviewer regards it as "required reading" for all bibliographers. It is difficult reading. Bowers quite rightly assumes some knowledge of analytical bibliography, but many lengthy arguments, explanations, digressions, illustrations, and notes in reduced type interrupting the text make it hard for even the expert to follow (and return to, when a later discussion demands it) the essential points. No brief review can give an adequate notion of the elaborate formulary, which Bowers mercifully digests in six pages as an Appendix to his work.

Bowers insists that he has tried "to remain as much as possible within the main stream of tradition," making his study "an attempt at real synthesis," carefully based on "the best current practice in scholarly works." This, in effect, means the formulary advocated by Greg (1934), expanded and modified with the benefit of correspondence with Greg himself. The book is highly evangelical—indeed, almost as much of an argument for Bowers' ideal of a true descriptive bibliography as it is for a universal formulary. As a consequence of this motive, explicit in the opening chapter, implicit in much that follows, Bowers is largely conciliatory in his attitude toward "the trained bibliographical scholar" (even the incunabulists, who have commonly employed a "rather primitive system" and whose *Gesamtkatalog* is inferior to a "true" bibliography in the Bowers hierarchy), and he is rather needlessly contemptuous of the mere "collector, librarian, or literary student who is attempting to practice bibliography." He quotes approvingly three long passages from Wroth's Rosenbach lecture, and concedes at the outset that "most bibliographies must limit the full form of description as set up in this book" as the nature of the material or the purpose of the bibliographer dictates. There is a chapter of thirty pages on incunabula, and to Bühler's moderately expressed objections he devotes a special Appendix of thirteen pages in addition to some complimentary references in his text and notes.

The simultaneous attempts to stay within the Greg-McKerrow "tradition," and yet transcend it by setting forth a complete system acceptable to bibliographers in all fields, result in some curious shifts in tone throughout the book. Bowers is at times uncompromising, at other times ready to accept or even offer alternatives or modifications. He can be persuasive, devoting many pages to illustration and argument; or, again, he can be quite arbitrary, as in the chapter on title-page transcription, where he insists that the transcript must include the long *s* but should ignore all ligatures. It is, of course, easy to quarrel with details in such a work. The

argument that a transcript of a title-page "can be authoritative in a manner not possible for a facsimile" assumes both superlative accuracy and superlative bibliographical knowledge in the transcriber, and will leave unpersuaded many scholars who have learned to be humble about their own attempts at accurate transcription.[2] Other scholars will accuse Bowers of hair-splitting when he argues that the collational formula should exclude material like engraved title-leaves, portraits, and inserted plates on the grounds that they never passed through the printing press. And this reviewer feels strongly that Bowers' dicta for indicating title-pages printed in two colors are clumsy, risky, and needlessly expensive. Far simpler than marking underscoring for actual setting (and distinguishing it from intended italicization) is to assume printing in black and to indicate exceptions with a bracketed note [red] before each line affected. Bowers usually chooses the simpler of any possible alternatives, but there are exceptions, as when he argues that *each sequence* in a collational formula must have its superior number. Thus, in a quarto lacking gatherings signed D, N, Q, and R, he would write: 4°: A-C^4 E-M^4 O-P^4 S-Z^4. It would seem simpler and no less clear to write: 4°: A-C E-M O-P S-Z^4.

But such objections, easily multiplied, are no basic criticism of this magnificent book, which performs a notable service to bibliographical scholarship, whether or not it eventually succeeds in its purpose. It demonstrates that some kind of scientific formulary is essential for precise reference. And it makes the strongest possible case for a universally acceptable set of technical terms. On the other hand, its gratuitous arguments for a minimum standard for bibliographical description, and its hierarchical concept of bibliographical studies, may inhibit Bowers' best chances of success, official adoption of his formulary by the

[2] Even the unusually accurate Professor Bowers can slip in the very simplest kind of title-page transcription, e.g., *In the Key of the Blue* (p. 375) and *The Marble Fawn* (p. 433). The ignorant, imperfect camera would have done better.

English or American Bibliographical Society or both. This reviewer, who happens to be an editor, has a peculiar sympathy with Bowers' desire for technical uniformity, and wishes his attempt a success which he doubts that it will enjoy. Among literary scholars such laudable aims are perhaps better achieved by impressive example than by dictum. Greg's formulary, upon which Bowers builds, became really influential with the publication of the first volume of Greg's monumental *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (1939)—and after all the similar suggestions for formularies by Edmond, Pollard, Cole, Madan, Duff, Gibson, McKerrow, Esdaile, Cowley, and Greg himself. It may happen that the publication of Greg's second volume (if he accepts most of the Bowers' system) and the publication of the ambitious sequel now in preparation by Bowers himself will inspire the uniformity devoutly to be wished, at least in the spacious area between incunabula and machine-printed books.

The Number, Order, and Authorship of the Hanover Pamphlets Attributed to Chesterfield

By William B. Todd

In his check list of the Hanover pamphlets commonly attributed in whole or in part to Lord Chesterfield, Professor Sidney L. Gulick anticipates a difficulty which has as yet not been fully realized.[1] These pamphlets do indeed, as he observes, constitute a "rather complicated" problem, involving, it would now appear, not only a number of previously unidentified editions, together with incidental matters pertaining to the description, chronology, and method of printing these tracts, but also questions of editorial significance relating to authorship and expurgation. The complexity of the problem therefore necessitates, first, the presentation of bibliographical data for all the editions in which Chesterfield supposedly had a part; then an account of the inferences regarding his participation in the Hanover controversy, as this may be deduced from the data; and finally, a citation of the unrecorded revisions in one of the pamphlets, which, as I shall propose, represents the limited extent of his collaboration.

[1] *A Chesterfield Bibliography to 1800*, in: Papers *of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXIX: 92-93 (1935).

I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Original text by Edmund Waller

Editions printed in Shop 1

"A" Edition December 4, 1742

THE | CASE | OF THE | HANOVER FORCES | In the PAY of | *GREAT-BRITAIN,* | Impartially and freely examined: | WITH SOME | SEASONABLE REFLECTIONS | ON THE | Preſent Conjuncture of Affairs. | [ornament] | *LONDON:* | Printed for T. COOPER at the *Globe* in *Pater-* | *Noſter Row.* M.CDD.XLIII.

8°, A^2 B-L^4 M^2. Pp. [4] [1] 2-83 [84].

Points: Press figures, 12-2, 21-1, 26-3, 34-3, 44-1, 55-3, 64-1, 68-2, 74-3, 82-1.

Copies: CtY (2), DCL, ICN, IU, MH.

Comment. The reported editions of this pamphlet (items *B*, *C*, *G*, and *H* in the list that follows) have been previously assigned to Chesterfield and Waller, and arranged according to a chronology which ignores the textual relationships among all editions, the imprint dates of editions *C* and *D*, and the announcements in the *London Daily Advertiser* and elsewhere. The advertisement for this unreported edition, reading "Hanover Troops," is repeated in the *LDA* of December 6 and 7. Like several other eighteenth-century editions, this appears to have been printed according to the accessibility of its formes, *i.e.*, in the order C-E, B, L, AM, G, K, I, H, F. Cf. my account in "Observations on the Incidence and Interpretation of Press Figures," forthcoming in *Studies in Bibliography,* III (1950-1951).

"B" Edition December 14, 1742

Description and collation as for *A*, except that date reads, correctly, "M.DCC.XLIII."

Pages reset, 9-32, 44-45; reimpressed, [i], [iii], 1-8, 41-43, 46-48, 73-83; same impression, 33-40, 49-72.

Points: Press figures, 7-3, 16-3, 23-1, 28-1, 34-3, 44-3, 55-3, 64-1, 68-2, 74-1, 82-1.

Copies: CtY (2), InU, MH, NcD, NN.

Comment. Gulick 301. After December 7 no further advertisements appear until the 14th and 15th, when the *LDA* again announces the availability of a tract which it calls, as before, ". . . Hanover Troops." This second sequence of

advertisements, I believe, must pertain to *B*, an overprint hastily issued a week later to meet an unexpected demand for copies.

Editions printed in Shop 2

"C" Edition December 24, 1742

THE | CASE | OF THE | HANOVER FORCES, | In the PAY of | *GREAT-BRITAIN*, | Impartially and freely examined. | WITH SOME | Seaſonable Reflexions | ON THE | Preſent Conjuncture of Affairs. | [rule] | [ornament: quadripartite type blocks] | [rule] | *LONDON*, | Printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in | *Pater-Noſter-Row*. MDCCXLII.

8°, A-D⁴ E². Pp. [1-2] 3-35 [36].

Point: Page 4, line 1 reads "favourite."

Copies: MiU-C, NN.

Comment. Gulick 304? Advertised as "The Second Edition . . . Hanover Troops" in *LDA* for December 24, 27, 29. Textual deterioration and the fact that the title-page was printed with the text as a part of the initial gathering indicate that this is a reprint of *A*. Type is long primer. Quite possibly *C* and *D* editions were assigned to a second shop, and *E* and *F* to a third, in order to make available the facilities of the first shop for the printing of the revised editions *G* and *H*.

"D" Edition January 4, 1743

Description and collation as for *C*.

Pages 3-14 reset.

Point: Page 4, line 1 reads "favorite."

Copies: CtY, ICN, MH.

Comment. An unrecorded edition advertised with a reading as for *C* in the *LDA* for January 4 and 7. Editions *C* and *D*, like *A* and *B*, are a pair, in which the overprint is, again, published about a week after the initial issue.

Editions printed in Shop 3

"E" Edition January 17, 1743

THE | CASE | OF THE | *Hanoverian Forces*, | In the Pay of | *GREAT-BRITAIN*, | Impartially, and freely examined: | WITH SOME | *Seaſonable Reflections*, | ON THE | Preſent Conjuncture of Affairs. | [double rule] | *LONDON:* | Printed for T. Cooper, at the *Globe* in *Pater-* | *Noſter-Row*. | M.DCC.XLIII.

8°, *A*⁸ B-D⁸. Pp. [1-2] 3-64.

Points: Page numbers in brackets, 3-49, 55-56, 59-64; in parentheses, 50-54, 57-58. Page 55, line 1 reads "wasted."

Copy: In possession of the writer.

Comment. Advertisements, dated January 17, 19, 21, are subtended to those for the *Vindication of the Case*, and read "Hanover Forces" without edition designation. This and the edition that follows are unreported variants, both exceedingly rare, and having in common these anomalous features: "Hanoverian" in title, no ornament, English point type, format in full octavo, and an undistinguishable initialled watermark. Perhaps both are piracies, though several considerations lead me to doubt this. In the months of December and January nineteen different works, exclusive of reprints, are recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as having Cooper's imprint, altogether too many to be printed in one shop. To produce such a number Cooper himself may have printed the original editions, reprinted only if enough type was standing to make it worth his while, and farmed out later reprints as the occasion required. Such an arrangement would explain the variety of printings for these pamphlets: *Case A, B, G, H* and *Vindication A, B* would be produced in a shop using press figures and great primer type; *Case C, D* and *Vindication C* in another, operating without figures and employing long primer type; and *Case E, F* in a third, also without figures and using English type.

"F" Edition January 29, 1743

Description and collation as for *E*

Pages reset: 17-23, 26-32, 35, 46, 49, 52-53, 55-57, 60-61, 64.

Points: Page numbers in brackets, 3-48, 52-53, 55, 59-64; in parentheses, 49-51, 54, 56-58. Page 55, line 1 reads "weasted."

Copy: IU

Comment. Advertisements for January 29 and February 1 are again subtended, but now read "Hanover Troops. The second Edition." Earlier comment on overprints applies to this, the second variant of the third pair of editions. Of this pair only three exemplars are known to me, the two cited, and another described in *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, I, 1432. Lord Crawford informs me that the copy there identified was recently sold in a job lot and cannot be traced.

Original text by Waller, revisions by Chesterfield

Editions printed in Shop 1

"G" Edition February 7, 1743

THE | CASE | [&c. as in *A* ed.] | . . . Affairs. | The Second Edition Revis'd and Corrected. | [ornament] | *LONDON:* | Printed for T.

COOPER at the *Globe* in *Pater-* | *Nofter Row.* M.DCC.XLIII. | Price One Shilling.

8°, A-K⁴. Pp. [1-2] 3-80.

Points: Press figures, 8-1, 15-2, 20-1, 32-2, 40-2, 47-1, 50-2, 60-1, 72-2, 76-3.

Copy: CtY.

Comment. Gulick 302. The wording of the subtended advertisements as "The second Edition, corrected" specifically identifies this as the variant announced. Advertisement repeated on February 10, 12, 15, 16, and 21. The lapse of a week between the last two entries may indicate, as it has for other editions, an overprint. If one exists, it will be immediately disclosed by a variant set of figures.

"H" Edition ?March, 1743

THE | CASE | [&c. as in *A* ed.] | . . . Affairs. | The Third Edition Revis'd and Corrected. | [ornament] | *LONDON:* | Printed for T. COOPER at the *Globe* in *Pater-* | *Nofter Row.* M.DCC.XLIII. | Price One Shilling.

Collation as for *G.*

Pages reset: 1-43, 45, 51-55, 57-63, 65-66, 76-77.

Points: Press figures, 6-3, 15-1, 20-1, 32-3, 34-1, 47-3, 62-3, 71-1, 77-3.

Copy: ICU

Comment. Gulick 303. No further announcements of the *Case* have been discovered except for a reference to remainders in the *LDA* for June 18 and 21, 1743. This probably alludes to those of *H*, an edition which, as a partial reimpression of *G*, would seem to have been published shortly thereafter.

Two sequels to THE CASE, *both by Edmund Waller*

Editions printed in Shop 1

"A1" First edition, first impression January 14, 1743

A | VINDICATION | OF A LATE | PAMPHLET, | INTITLED, | *The* CASE *of the* HANOVER | TROOPS *confidered:* | WITH SOME | Further OBSERVATIONS | upon thofe TROOPS; | BEING | A *SEQUEL* to the faid Pamphlet. | [ornament] | *LONDON:* | Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-* | *nofter-row.* | [short rule] | MDCCXLIII.

8°, *A*² B-H⁴. Pp. [4] [1] 2-56.

Points: Press figures, 5-1, 15-2, 22-1, 28-3, 38-1, 48-3, 50-1.

First state: Page 55, lines 18/19 read "Considerations may possibly keep us to ac-/count for the keeping . . ."
Errata list, page 56, all errata uncorrected.
Copies: ICJ, ICN, NcD, NN.

Second state: Page 55, lines 18/19 read "Considerations may possibly account for the/keeping . . ." Errata list removed, but misprints remain uncorrected.
Copy: British Museum.

Comment. Gulick 305. These sequels have been previously regarded as the collaborative work of Waller and Chesterfield. Advertisement repeated January 17.

"A2" First edition, second impression January 29, 1743

Description and collation as for *A1*.

Points: Press figures, 5-2, 15-1, 22-1, 24-1, 28-3, 47-1, 50-1. Page 55 reads as in *A1* second state. Errata list is removed, all errors corrected except for page 33, line 25 reading "little."

Copies: IU, WaU.

Comment. Identified by Gulick as a variant state of *A1*. Advertisement repeated February 1. For a consideration of the reiterated number 1 in gathering D (pages 22, 24) see my article on press figures, *op. cit.*

"B" Edition ?February, 1743

A | VINDICATION | [&c. as in *A1* ed.] | . . . Pamphlet. | The THIRD EDITION. | [ornament] | *LONDON:* | Printed for M. Cooper, at the *Globe* in *Pater-* | *noſter-row.* | [short rule] | MDCC-XLIII.

Collation as for *A1*. Pages reset, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13-14, 16, 25, 27-28, 44-45, 50-52, 54-55.

Points: Press figures, 2-3, 12-3, 24-4, 30-3, 40-3, 47-3, 54-4. Page 14 misnumbered 41.

Copy: British Museum.

Comment. Gulick 307. Though not advertised until June 18, this edition, a partial reimpression of *A2*, was probably on sale shortly after the appearance of the "second." Either *A2* or *C* may have been considered as this "second" edition. After Thomas Cooper died of a "lingering illness" on February 10 (obituary notice, *LDA*, Feb. 11) his wife, Mary, took over the management of the business. It may be added to the record of Thomas, about whom so little seems to be known, that in addition to his activities as an energetic purveyor of political tracts

and occasional poems he found the time, in 1742, to purchase the post of City Marshal of London. *London Magazine*, XII: 101 (1743).

Edition printed in Shop 2

"C" Edition ?February, 1743

A | VINDICATION | [&c. as in *A1*, except . . . PAMPHLET, | ENTITLED | *The* . . .] | Pamphlet. | [rule] | *By the fame* AUTHOR. | [two rules] | *LONDON:* | Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Paternoſter-row*. MDCCXLIII.

8°, A-F⁴. Pp. [1-2] 3-47 [48].

Copies: CtY, MH.

Comment. Gulick 306. Copytext for this edition is *A1*, with long reading page 55, but with all errors corrected and errata list removed. Like editions *C* to *F* of *The Case*, this appears to have been hastily set and printed in another shop to meet an unexpected demand, and was very probably, therefore, issued sometime before the death of Thomas Cooper on February 10.

Edition printed in Shop 1 November 30, 1743

A | Farther VINDICATION | of | *The* CASE *of the* HANOVER TROOPS: | In which | The Uniform INFLUENCE | of the *HANOVER-RUDDER* | Is clearly DETECTED and EXPOS'D: | Being | A FULL ANSWER, founded on FACTS and DATES, | to a Pamphlet, call'd, | *The Intereſt of* GREAT BRITAIN | *ſteadily purſu'd.* | [double rule] | *LONDON:* | Printed for M. COOPER, in *Pater-noſter-Row*, 1743. | (PRICE *One Shilling* and *Six-Pence.*)

8°, *A1* B-M⁴. Pp. [2] [1] 2-88.

Copy: ICU, CtY.

Comment. Gulick 308. Advertisement repeated December 1-3, 5, 7. This tract is a delayed response to Horatio Walpole's *The Interest of Great Britain Steadily Pursued*, published on February 10, 1743.

By an unidentified "Broadbottom" March 3, 1743

THE | INTEREST of *HANOVER* | Steadily Purſued ſince the A----N. | BEING A | *SEQUEL* | To a late PAMPHLET, Intitled, | The INTEREST of *GREAT* | *BRITAIN Steadily Purſued.* | [rule] | In a LETTER to the *Right Honourable* AUTHOR. | [rule] | By a BROAD-BOTTOM. | [rule] | [ornament] | *LONDON:* | Printed for M. COOPER, in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, 1743. | [Price One Shilling.]

8°, A-F⁴ G². Pp. [1-3] 4-51 [52].

Copy: NcD.

Comment. Advertisement repeated March 4, 7, 9. This pamphlet, previously assigned to Chesterfield alone (Cf. *DNB*, LIV: 28, and Gulick 309), is another rejoinder to Walpole's *The Interest of Great Britain*, and written, apparently, by someone who had no connection with any of the *Case* essays.

Recapitulation. Relationship of texts existing in multiple editions.

II

AUTHORSHIP

The political controversy which occasioned the publication of the several pamphlets reviewed in this account, as well as many others of less concern to literary historians, developed from a report in September, 1742, that the Electorate of Hanover had received orders, presumably from England's George II, to dispatch 16,000 troops to Flanders, where they would be joined by some 6,000 Hessians already in English pay.[2] Underway, as the public was quick to comment, was another of the King's schemes to aggrandize his German possessions at England's expense, the first portion of which was estimated at £265,190. To this sacrifice of British interests and revenue the *protégés* of the recently dismissed Prime Minister, Robert Walpole, readily agreed; the motion for disbursement of the money was made by Sir William Yonge; and debate upon the measure was set for December 10, 1742..

The Opposition's answer to this latest affront to the English people was *The Case of the Hanover Forces*, a tract doubtless intended to inspire a vote of no confidence, and published in suf-

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, XII: 503 [misnumbered 335] (1742).

ficient time to influence the crucial vote of the 10th. Though it failed to achieve this result,[3] it did succeed in exposing Walpole's maladministration of England's affairs, and thus provoked, besides a remarkable series of reprints of the original essay, a number of rejoinders, pro and con, including two sequels, *A Vindication* and *A Farther Vindication.*

That these sequels to *The Case* were by the same author is confirmed, first, in a reading to that effect on the title-page of the *Vindication,* edition *C,* and secondly, in the text of the *Farther Vindication,* where the writer excuses his delay in responding to a scurrilous attack by Robert Walpole's chief apologist, his younger brother Horatio, and then remarks that he now undertakes this "*third* and *last* Attempt to demonstrate a Truth" (p. 4). This admission allows the further presumption that the author of these three attempts could not have written *The Interest of Hanover Steadily Pursued,* for the inclusion of the latter, published nine months before the *Farther Vindication,* would make a total count of *four* publications, two of which represent independent refutations of Horatio's *The Interest of Great Britain Steadily Pursued.*

Another indication that the *Farther Vindication* and *The Interest of Hanover* were of separate origin is found in the style. Whereas the author of the one continues in the contemptuous manner characteristic of his earlier productions, with various references to the younger Walpole as "the poor Man [who] foams at the Mouth," "this *one* infatuated Creature," and "this great *Dimmock* of Politicians," the author of the other is excessively deferential, addressing him as "my dear Sir," "old Acquaintance," and one of "known great Modesty." Obviously Chesterfield cannot be the author of both tracts, and since he was known for his temperate speech as well as for his indifference to Horatio's fulminations, it is doubtful whether he is to be held accountable for the language in either.

[3] The motion was carried, 251 to 181.

Before disclaiming any responsibility for this author, however, we may review the evidence for the attribution. As one of the "Broadbottoms," as the members of the Opposition were called, Chesterfield was an outspoken critic of the Government's proposal to take the Hanoverian troops into British pay; twice addressed the House of Lords on this matter; and twice in letters contributed to the first and third numbers of *Old England, or The Constitutional Journal* carried his appeal to the public. Since these letters were signed "Geffery Broadbottom," it was assumed that Chesterfield was likewise the author of *The Interest of Hanover*, published a month later, and also written "By a Broad-Bottom." Though never acknowledged by Chesterfield, this gratuitous association nevertheless went unquestioned until shortly after his death, when the editors of his *Miscellaneous Works* (1777-1778) arbitrarily rejected the one pamphlet but accepted the three in the *Case* series. Their reason for including these apparently rests on a single piece of evidence, a copy of *The Case of the Hanover Forces* bearing, in what Matthew Maty believed to be Chesterfield's hand, the inscription "by Mr. Waller and lord C——."[4] On the basis of this reference alone, apparently, Benjamin Way, the editor of the third volume of the *Works*, thereupon reprinted all three essays, and recommended them to the attention of his readers as notable examples of Chesterfield's polemical abilities.

Whether Chesterfield actually collaborated in all editions of all the *Case* essays or, as I shall contend, in only one edition of the first, it will be agreed that the fact of participation, whatever its extent, necessarily excludes *The Interest of Hanover* from the canon. Hitherto assigned to Chesterfield alone, this pamphlet must now be regarded as the work of some other "Broadbottom." Though the identity of the author is therefore of little concern to us in this present enquiry, what he has to say of *The Case* is of some significance, for it indicates a personal knowledge of the writer. "For aught you know," he admonishes Walpole, "when

[4] *Miscellaneous Works*, I: 290, note 24 (1777).

you sate down to consider *The Case of the* Hanover *Forces*, you were answering one of very distinguish'd Quality and Merit, and as fast a Friend as any in the Nation, to our present happy Settlement, and yet, you bestow no gentler Epithets upon him in your very first Lines, than *Libeller* and *Scribbler*" (p. 6). The friend of the Broadbottoms of "distinguish'd Quality and Merit" would seem to be none other than Lord Chesterfield, one disposed to argue such a matter, but not in the present *Case*. Thus a Commoner may be involved, Edmund Waller, perhaps, but not a distinguished gentleman of the House of Lords.

If this is the proper inference to be derived from the allusion, how can it be reconciled with the inscription discovered by Dr. Maty? The answer, I believe, is evident in the fact that the writer refers to one of the early editions of *The Case* (*A*, or one of the reprints *B-F*), Maty apparently to a later printing (*G*).[5] Concerning this later edition, advertised as "corrected," described on the title-page, as "revis'd and corrected," but considered by Professor Gulick to be little more than a reprint of *Case* edition *B* (actually *A*, an unreported edition), it may be observed that in proportion to its length perhaps no other work in the eighteenth century has suffered such extensive alteration. In *A* the author undertakes an irresponsible campaign of vilification continued, as previously mentioned, in the sequels, and resembling in style and language nothing which Chesterfield is known to have written. But in *G* there are unmistakable signs of another hand, one intent upon removing inaccuracies and improprieties, and thus providing a revised text conforming to the circumspect opinions of the leader of His Majesty's opposition. Disparaging allusions to

[5] In his *Interest of Great Britain* Walpole, in referring to what is obviously one of the early editions of *The Case*, accidentally supplies a reading found only in *G* and *H*, editions to which he could not have had access at the time his essay was published. The author of *The Interest of Hanover* is more precise, closely follows an early edition, and reproves Walpole for what he believes is a misprint, "*viz. That* Great Britain *was tasked (not taxed as you make it)*. . . ." Though Maty does not specify the edition bearing the inscription, the fact that his successor, Way, reprints *G* appears to substantiate this as the text with which Chesterfield is to be identified.

the British troops as "red Locusts" and "*Janizaries*" were accordingly modified to "our numerous Soldiers" and "Forces." A reference to the "obnoxious Hanoverians" in the earlier version is without the adjective in the later. Robert Walpole, his cohorts, and his successors, described in the one account as "our own Bashaws," become in the other simply "our Ministers." Mistakenly identified as a "Resident" in the first edition, the British envoy to Holland is properly titled a "Minister" in the other. The King's address to Parliament was made, as the emendator realized, not at the "Close of the last Session," but at the "opening of this Session." And so the redaction continues in almost every page of the text.

The nature and extent of this unnoticed alteration leads to several disconcerting queries. Should these blunders and indiscretions be attributed to a collaboration between two authors? Or, to consider a less plausible conjecture, should they be viewed as Chesterfield's sole responsibility? Surely this is not what we would expect from the author of memorable *bon mots*, the exponent of polite conversation. Our regard for Chesterfield demands another explanation; and the only reasonable one, it seems to me, is that which holds him unaccountable for the wild and extravagant language exhibited in the first edition of *The Case*, but, as the available evidence suggests, directly responsible for most if not all of the variant readings in the edition designated as the second. If this much is presumed, then, in view of the several reasons already presented, his participation as an author of the Hanover pamphlets is limited to the revision of this one essay and does not extend to any of the other tracts with which he has been associated. For the information of those who may be interested, I have accordingly extracted both the original readings, now ascribed to Waller, and the emendations which, I believe, Chesterfield found it expedient to introduce in the revised and corrected edition.

III

TEXTUAL EMENDATION IN "THE CASE OF THE HANOVER FORCES"

Waller's original reading	Chesterfield's revision
Edition A	*Edition G*
4,17 humbled, and	6,8 humbled, *Sweden* supported, and
4,18 tasked	6,9 tax'd
5,14 of *Sicily*	7,3 of *Naples* and *Sicily*
7,12 *Russia*, as more clearly appears, by the Words of a certain great Writer	8,23 *Russia*, and as far from granting certain investitures, as appears, by the Words of a great Writer
11,20 *Sanction* Hand over Head, as	13,1 *Sanction* as
13,20 though we were obliged to swallow the Dose without gilding, or any Palliative	14,23 though we swallowed the Dose without any Palliative
14,2 last sufficiently	15,5 last was sufficiently
18,24 Resident	19,20 Minister
19,24 Resident	20,18 Minister
21,9 Interval	22,1 situation
23,10 Access	23,25 Increase
23,24 might gain	24,12 might have gained
25,2 *Prussia;* though acquainted	25,14 *Prussia;* a Declaration that though acquainted
25,7 formed	25,19 drawn up
25,11 frothed	25,24 breathed
25,13 Declaration	25,25 Indication
25,14 contain	26,1 give
28,8 Nation	28,17 Public
28,13 a resolute Minister	28,22 an entangled Minister
30,24 Minister; immediately after which, according to the ancient Usage of Parliaments, to give liberally to the Crown upon a Prospect of Redress of Grievances, they came	31,4 Minister; which gave such hopes of Redress of Grieances [*sic*], that in that Confidence the Parliament came

33,25	Session, which acknowledges the said Sum to be granted *for*	33,26	Session, *If for*
35,18	Close of the last Session	35,16	opening of this Session
37,5	*Britain?* And	37,1	*Britain?* or whether they can be so even now? And
38,2	*France,* which was then the only contracting Power of this Treaty; and	37,23	*France;* and
40,10	Views, I mean since it's Connexion with *England,* and	40,3	Views, and
41,22	*Emperor,* it	41,13	*Emperor,* whom it
44,2	most	43,14	utmost
48,9	Wealth, as they have uniformly done, from the Treaty of Utretcht 'till now. [¶] But	47,17	Wealth. [¶] But
48,14	placed	47,20	founded
48,21	And if we grew weary of paying annually 5,000,000*l.* in Exchange for annual Victories, before we were yet exhausted, there	48,1	And if we were exhausted by our last glorious War against *France,* when some of our most successful Years cost us no more than 5,000,000*l.* there
49,2	Millions to support what we had no Concern in, and, from which, we had no Prospect of Returns either in Profit	48,7	Millions a Year to carry on alone a War in which the *Dutch* would have no Concern, and from which, we could expect no Returns either of Profit
53,19	Wind-Mill-Fighter	52,19	*Don Quixote*
58,3	Speech, last Session	56,22	Speech, at the end of the last Session
59,10	*Hanoverians.* But then	58,2	*Hanoverians.* And as the *French* Forces were employ'd or diverted in every Part of Europe, there could be no danger of their invading us at home. But then

61,16	to it are	60,9	to it, in case it did, are
61,17	Principle, it's own Preservation, in all Considerations whatsoever.	60,11	Principle, Self-Preservation, being preferred to all other Motives whatsoever.
64,22	retained to prevent their going into that Part of *France*, can	63,12	retained only to prevent their being hired by *France;* can
65,22	Lured by an insatiable Thirst of Gain, in whatever Shape, in Love	64,10	Lured by the Thirst of Gain, in Love
70,5	create. But how little do they weigh, when it is considered, that their *Actions* still keep as high as ever? Besides	68,10	create. Besides
74,3	for that was ridiculous; but	71,24	for that was a Pretence even too ridiculous to be mentioned; but
74,8	being likewise strongly insinuated, as well	72,3	being likewise enforced, as well
75,4	by red Locusts	72,22	by our numerous Soldiers
75,7	convinced	72,25	pre-convinced
75,9	*Janizaries*	73,1	Forces
75,22	of which will be always in Readiness to march.	73,13	of which being either on Shore, or on board our Men of War, upon our Coasts, are in any case at Hand for the Defence of this Island.
81,23	our own Bashaws	79,3	our Ministers
82,21	these obnoxious Hanoverians	79,26	these Hanoverians

William Leggett (1801-1839): Journalist and Literator

By Page S. Procter, Jr.

I

WALT Whitman, a warm admirer of William Leggett's "Equal Rights" political philosophy, once linked the names of Leggett and Jefferson on even terms; and John Greenleaf Whittier as ardently eulogized Leggett the abolitionist: "William Leggett! Let our right hand forget its cunning, when that name shall fail to awaken generous emotions, and aspirations for a higher and worthier manhood!" Although Leggett's career as a crusading political journalist has received some attention from professional historians,[1] his name today, so little is it known, can but seldom evoke those feelings described by Whittier. Yet on the literary level the career of this New York writer who lived from 1801 to 1839 has suffered a completer oblivion.[2] This despite the fact that his contemporaries compared his prose fiction with that of Cooper and Scott, predicted lasting renown for this work, and even translated some of his tales and poetry for foreign reprinting.

Such oblivion is not of course unique in the annals of literary

[1] See, for example, Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post; A Century of Journalism* (New York, Boni and Liveright [1922]); G. H. Ammon, *William Leggett, Equal Rights Editor* (unpublished Master's dissertation, Georgetown University, 1940); Richard Hofstadter, "William Leggett, Spokesman of Jacksonian Democracy," in: *Political Science Quarterly,* LVIII: 581-594 (Dec. 1943); A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1945).

[2] Allan Wescott has written a brief account of his career in *The Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), XI: 147-148. Kendall B. Taft has a short section on Leggett in his *Minor Knickerbockers* (New York, American Book Company [1947]).

history, and Leggett's is partially deserved. His verse is merely a sterile mixture of poetry popular in his day. Almost alone among contemporary critics he praised Hawthorne's *Fanshawe* and detected in it that author's desire to probe the human heart, yet his literary criticism as a whole seems shallow and inept. His lengthy comments on the acting of Edwin Forrest reveal a keen understanding of Shakespearean drama (and, indeed, those comments influenced the development of Forrest's acting techniques); but theatrical reviews are scarcely vehicles for immortality. His formal didactic essays, some of them blatant thefts from Samuel Johnson's *Rambler* and *Idler* papers, were designed to fill the greedy maw of the newspapers and magazines for which he worked. Perhaps only three or four of his short stories can arouse any enthusiasm in the modern reader, the remainder being marred by sentimentality, melodramatic plot or hackneyed characterization.

Yet the literary historian cannot overlook Leggett. His poetry, however eclectic, helps demonstrate first of all the great popularity of Byron, Moore, Campbell and Mrs. Hemans in the 1820's and, secondly, the subsequent shift in taste toward the Wordsworth-Bryant school. His formal essays and his literary criticism provide material for evaluating the influence of Dr. Johnson in America. Furthermore, Leggett's tales of the frontier, despite their melodramatic plots, are an early attempt at realism in America. Unlike most of the contemporary writers of western stories, Leggett did not fill the peaceful backwoods with Indians and war dances; instead he employed as background for his stories the actual Illinois scenes, customs and social conditions which he himself had observed in that region. In like fashion he used his own naval experiences to give the proper sense of surface reality to tales about that service. Perhaps the most important single aspect of his naval stories, however, is not this realistic background but the fact that he championed the underdog or subordinate against the tyranny of the officer caste. He was almost

the first writer after Smollett to do so, and thus becomes an American link between that author and Herman Melville. Furthermore, these naval stories furnish a literary parallel to his newspaper editorials against these same naval abuses.

II

Born in New York on April 30th, 1801, Leggett spent his early life in that city. He left in 1815 to attend Georgetown College, but the failure of his father's business necessitated his withdrawal from that college in 1816 and a return to New York. Eventually, in 1819, the financial failure caused the removal of the whole family to the Illinois frontier, and it was there at Edwardsville, in the columns of *The Edwardsville Spectator*, that Leggett's first poetry appeared. His slim volume of *Poems*, privately printed at the same city in 1822, is probably the first work of literature published in that state. Since Illinois brought the Leggett family only more misfortune, Leggett returned to New York in the fall of 1822 to accept an appointment as acting midshipman in the United States Navy, receiving it January 13th, 1823. He continued in the naval service for three years, with duty in the West Indian and Mediterranean squadrons, but he resigned his midshipman's commission on April 17th, 1826, after an experience with both a tyrannical captain and a court martial had given him a decided distaste for the navy.

During his naval career Leggett had continued to write poetry, and in December, 1825, his book *Leisure Hours at Sea* appeared in New York. Although its reception by the critics was only lukewarm, he determined after his resignation from the navy to continue an artistic career. His poetry began to appear in New York newspapers and magazines, and although he failed miserably when he tried the acting profession, he was more than requited by the singular success of his frontier story, *The Rifle*, which appeared in 1827. Probably as a direct result of this successful tale and of his unsuccessful contact with the acting pro-

fession, George Pope Morris engaged him in November of 1827 as a theatrical critic for *The New York Mirror;* and in addition Leggett soon became a literary critic and an editorial writer for that magazine. Besides writing for the *Mirror,* Leggett worked as assistant editor of *The Merchants' Telegraph,* a New York daily newspaper which ran from January to June, 1828. For this publication, too, he wrote literary and dramatic criticism as well as formal essays, and it is amusing to see how Leggett, anonymous in both the *Mirror* and the *Telegraph,* reprinted in one publication what he had recently written for the other.

Leggett undoubtedly regretted the failure of the *Telegraph* on June 14th, 1828, but he soon quit the *Mirror* as well to start his own literary magazine, the weekly *Critic,* the first number of which appeared November 1st, 1828. In this magazine, written almost entirely by himself, he published short stories, poems, essays, literary and dramatic criticism. Pressed as he was for time, he reprinted under his own signature much of the material that he had previously written anonymously or pseudonymously for other publications. It is this factor, incidentally, which makes it possible to trace Leggett's early literary career.

Unfortunately, Leggett's magazine, though it gave him a considerable literary reputation, was not a financial success and it failed on June 20th, 1829. Because of this reputation, however, and the success of his *Tales and Sketches. By a Country Schoolmaster,* a collection of his short stories which appeared just before *The Critic* failed, William Cullen Bryant employed him as an assistant on *The New York Evening Post* to write literary and theatrical notices. By the end of August, 1829, a month after he was hired, Leggett had begun to write political editorials, too, and the really significant part of his career had begun. Thereafter he was to slight the literary for the political, although he continued to write literary and dramatic reviews for the *Post* as well as short stories for the New York magazines. In 1834 he even brought out *Naval Stories,* another collection of the latter.

Leggett's editorial success as a political writer, however, was so marked that by 1831 he was a partner on the *Post*, and in May, 1834, when Bryant left New York to spend two years in Europe, Leggett assumed sole charge of the newspaper. As a Jacksonian democrat and "equal rights" advocate, as a spiritual father of the Loco-Foco party, as an abolitionist before that movement became popular, and as a critic of harsh naval discipline, he became one of the most influential journalists of his day. Leggett, however, adopted a doctrinaire approach to most of these matters, not only fighting his political foes but excoriating any deviation from principle on the part of his political friends. Thus he incurred many enmities. In answering all the attacks that descended upon his head he wore out his health, which was already considerably weakened from yellow fever contracted at Key West during his naval career. In October of 1835 he collapsed from overwork, and Bryant had to return from Europe. After his recovery, Leggett returned to the *Post* for a very short period, but on November 1st, 1836, the Bryant-Leggett partnership was dissolved and Leggett started his own papers, the New York *Plaindealer*, a weekly whose first number appeared December 3rd, 1836, and *The Examiner*, a daily which first came out in May of 1837. In these two publications, Leggett concentrated on politics, but here also appeared the literary and theatrical reviews which always characterized his publications when he had time for them. Yet these papers failed September 30th, 1837, and Leggett, again in ill health, was left with no career. Just as he was about to be appointed to the diplomatic corps, after living for a year on the charity of his friend, Edwin Forrest, Leggett died, May 29th, 1839.

There were apparently manuscripts left unpublished at the time of his death. On June 19th, 1830, the *New York Mirror* had announced that a novel of his, *Ralph Marvyn*, would soon appear. It did not. Furthermore, the biography of Edwin Forrest which he had written for the second part of William Dun-

lap's history of the American theatre never appeared anywhere. Since Forrest purchased Leggett's entire library from Mrs. Leggett after his friend's death, these manuscripts well may have burned in the fire at the Forrest home in Philadelphia. At any rate no manuscripts have survived, and the following bibliography therefore contains only Leggett's published works. Furthermore, in view of the numerous reprintings of his poems and stories in both America and Europe, no attempt has been made to list any printing in which Leggett himself did not have a hand. The one exception is the collection of his political editorials made after his death by Theodore Sedgwick, Jr.

I have numbered Leggett's published volumes in order of appearance, and, in listing Leggett's contributions to newspapers and magazines, I have indicated their later inclusion in the published volumes by the use of these numerals. Thus '"Hope," *Edwardsville Spectator*, October 2, 1821; 1; 2' indicates that the poem was reprinted in both *Poems* and *Leisure Hours at Sea* after first appearing in the Illinois newspaper. In the case of the poems which Leggett reprinted after an initial appearance in one of his volumes, their origin will be indicated by a "from 1" or a "from 2," as the case may be. No attempt has been made to show the slight revisions which often marked the reappearance of the various pieces, although radical changes in titles have been noted. When a work was signed, the signature is given, except in the case of his poems appearing in the *Critic*, which were uniformly signed "William Leggett."

A. Published Works[3]

1. *Poems* by William Leggett (Edwardsville, 1822).
2. *Leisure Hours at Sea: By a Midshipman of the United States Navy* (New York, George C. Morgan, and E. Bliss & E. White, 1825).
3. *Tales and Sketches. By a Country Schoolmaster* (New York, J. & J. Harper, 1829).

[3] *Journals of the Ocean* (New York, George C. Morgan, 1826) has been incorrectly ascribed to Leggett. It was written by Lt. William Weaver, U.S.N.

4. "The Block House" in: *Tales of Glauber Spa. By Several American Authors* (New York, J. & J. Harper, 1832, 1844, 1856), Vol. II.
5. *Naval Stories* by William Leggett (New York, G. & C. Carvill, 1834, 1835).
6. *A Collection of the Political Writings of William Leggett*, edited by Theodore Sedgwick, Jr. (New York, Taylor & Dodd, 1840). 2 vols.

B. Contributions to Newspapers and Magazines

1. Poetry

"The Christmas Gift," *Edwardsville Spectator*, January 1, 1820, by "L." This poem cannot be positively ascribed to Leggett, but his authorship is probable.

"Valentine," *Edwardsville Spectator*, February 29, 1820, by "L." As in the above case authorship is not certain but highly probable.

"Beauty in Tears," *Edwardsville Spectator*, September 25, 1821, by "L."; 1; 2.

"Hope," *Edwardsville Spectator*, October 2, 1821; 1; 2.

"Address of the Carrier of the Edwardsville Spectator to his Patrons," *Edwardsville Spectator*, January 1, 1822; 1; 2.

"The Moment of Woe," *Edwardsville Spectator*, April 9, 1822; 1; 2.

"Lines on the Death of a Friend, Killed in a Duel," *Edwardsville Spectator*, April 13, 1822; 1; 2.

"Memory," *Edwardsville Spectator*, June 15, 1822; 1; 2.

"Laura's Grave," *Edwardsville Spectator*, June 22, 1822; 1.

"A Night Thought," *Edwardsville Spectator*, August 3, 1822; 1; 2, called "The Moon."

"Fare Thee Well," *Illinois Intelligencer*, September, 1822;[4] 1; 2.

"The Withered Flower," *New York Mirror*, I: 232 (February 14, 1824); 2; *Critic*, I: 271 (February 21, 1829).

"The Bible," *Commercial Advertiser*, August 22, 1826, by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea"; *New York Mirror*, IV: 288 (March 31, 1827), by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea"; *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 7, 1828; *Critic*, I: 105 (December 13, 1828).

"Christ Raiseth the Widow's Son," *Commercial Advertiser*, August 29, 1826, by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea"; *Critic*, I: 140-141 (December 27, 1828).

"Lines Occasioned by the Death of Miss G. Peck, Only Child of Dr. B. Peck," *Commercial Advertiser*, October 5, 1826, by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea"; *New York Mirror*, V: 152 (November 17, 1827), called "Lines on the Death of a Little Girl," by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea"; *Critic*, I: 127 (December 20, 1828).

[4] Copied into *Edwardsville Spectator*, September 21, 1822. Files of the *Illinois Intelligencer* in the Library of Congress are incomplete, and I have consequently not been able to date the appearance of this poem in that newspaper.

"Song" ("As the tears of the even"), *New York Mirror*, IV: 136 (November 18, 1826), by "Imogine"; *Critic*, I: 141 (December 27, 1828), called "The Wife's Song."

"To Myra," *New York Mirror*, IV: 136 (November 18, 1826), by "Lara"; *Critic*, I: 350 (April 4, 1829), called "The Lover's Complaint."

"Song" ("Should all the world deceive me, love"), *New York Mirror*, IV: 160 (December 9, 1826), by "Θ"; *Critic*, I: 188-189 (January 17, 1829).

"Woman," *New York Mirror*, IV: 256 (March 3, 1827), by "Lara"; *Critic*, I: 159 (January 3, 1829).

"Written in an Album" ("As travellers through Italia's land"), *New York Mirror*, IV: 256 (March 3, 1827), by "Lara"; *Critic*, I: 340 (March 28, 1829).

"Life's Sunny Spots," *New York Mirror*, IV: 264 (March 10, 1827), by "Lara"; *Critic*, I: 105 (December 13, 1828).

"Religion," *New York Mirror*, IV: 264 (March 10, 1827), by "Lara"; *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 25, 1828; *Critic*, I: 140 (December 27, 1828).

"Peter's Release from Prison," *New York Mirror*, IV: 264 (March 10, 1827), by "Lara"; *Critic*, I: 158-159 (January 3, 1829).

"The Widow's Mite," *New York Mirror*, IV: 272 (March 17, 1827), by "Lara"; *Critic*, I: 173-174 (January 10, 1829).

"Stars," *New York Mirror*, IV: 280 (March 24, 1827), by "Lara"; *Critic*, I: 44 (November 15, 1828), called "Melody."

"Life's Guiding Star," *New York Mirror*, IV: 288 (March 31, 1827), by "Lara"; *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 31, 1828; *Critic*, I: 173 (January 10, 1829).

"I'll Leave Thee No More" ("I trust the frown . . ."), *New York Mirror*, IV: 296 (April 7, 1827), by "Lara"; *Critic*, I: 340 (March 28, 1829), called "Song."

"To ———, Written in her Album," *New York Mirror*, IV: 328 (May 5, 1827), by "Lara."

"Lines, Written on a Pane of Glass, in the House of a Friend," *New York Mirror*, V: 112 (October 13, 1827), by "Zoe"; *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 3, 1828; *Critic*, I: 188 (January 17, 1829).

"Man's Happiness Here," *New York Mirror*, V: 136 (November 3, 1827), by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea."

"Sacred Melody," *Atlantic Souvenir* for 1828, pp. 51-52, by "author of Leisure Hours at Sea." Also signed "W. L."; *Critic*, I: 173 (January 10, 1829).

"Death on the Pale Horse," *Atlantic Souvenir* for 1828, p. 302, by "author of Leisure Hours at Sea." Also signed "W. L."; *Critic*, I: 174 (January 10, 1829).

"Woman" ("No star in yonder sky that shines"), *New York Mirror*, V: 144 (November 10, 1827), by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea"; *Critic*, I: 189 (January 17, 1829).

"To Themyra" ("The bird that cleaves . . ."), *New York Mirror*, V: 152 (November 17, 1827), by "L."; *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 13, 1828; *Critic*, I: 223 (January 31, 1829).

"Lines, Written in a Lady's Common-Place Book," *New York Mirror*, V: 168 (December 1, 1827), by "Lara."

"Lines Written on a Window," *New York Mirror*, V: 192 (December 22, 1827); *Critic*, I: 223 (January 31, 1829), called "To Themira, Written with French Chalk on a Pane of Glass in the House of a Friend."

"The Carrier's Address," *New York Mirror*, V: 216 (January 12, 1828), by "W.L."

"To a Young Lady," from 2; *New York Mirror*, V: 216 (January 12, 1828), called "To Eliza," by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea"; *Critic*, I: 307 (March 14, 1829), called "Mind."

"Address of the Deserted Maiden to Her Lover," from 2; *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 18, 1828.

Prize poem for opening of Bowery Theatre, printed in *New York Mirror*, VI: 50 (August 23, 1828).

"Thoughts on the Close of the Year," *Critic*, I: 222-223 (January 31, 1829).

"A Mother's Lament for the Death of her Child," from 2, *Critic*, I: 251 (February 14, 1829).

"Stanzas" ("O weep not for this parting"), *Critic*, I: 251 (February 14, 1829).

"Lines Written on the Island of Elba," from 2, *Critic*, I: 290 (March 7, 1829).

"The Song of Rose Weston," from 2, *Critic*, I: 307-308 (March 14, 1829).

"On a Lock of Hair," from 2, *Critic*, I: 307 (March 14, 1829), called "Love's Remembrancer."

"Written in Themira's Album," *Critic*, I: 320 (March 21, 1829).

"Lines, Written Beneath a Dilapidated Tower, Yet Standing Among the Ruins of Carthage," from 2, *Critic*, I: 320 (March 21, 1829).

"The Stage," *Critic*, I: 320 (March 21, 1829).

"Woman," from 2, *Critic*, I: 351 (April 4, 1829).

"Lines on Leaving Home," from 1 and 2, *Critic*, I: 395 (April 25, 1829).

"To Louisa," from 2, *Critic*, II: 15 (May 9, 1829).

"Love and Friendship," *Atlantic Souvenir* for 1830, p. 41, by William Leggett.

"A Dream," *New York Mirror*, VII: 249 (February 13, 1830), by "Lara."

"Winter," *New York Mirror*, VII: 265 (February 27, 1830), by "Lara."

"Song" ("Farewell—lovely scenes of my earliest pleasures"), *New York Mirror*, VII: 281 (March 13, 1830), by "Lara."

"Sonnet," *New York Mirror*, VII: 328 (April 17, 1830), by "Lara."

"God is There," *New York Mirror*, VIII: 24 (July 24, 1830), by "L." This signature probably indicates that Leggett was the author, but the ascription is not positive.

"The Spirit's Dwelling," *Atlantic Souvenir* for 1831, pp. 327-328, by William Leggett.

"To Ella," *New York Mirror*, XV: 124 (October 14, 1837), by "Lara."

2. Prose Fiction

"The Trial," *New York Mirror*, IV: 257-258, 265-266, 273-274, 281-282; (March 10-31, 1827); *Critic*, I: 30-38 (November 8 and 15, 1828), called "The Steel Clasp"; 3.

"The Mistake," *New York Mirror*, IV: 284-285 (March 31, 1827); *Critic*, I: 125-127 (December 20, 1828); 3.

"The Rifle," *Atlantic Souvenir* for 1828, by "the author of Leisure Hours at Sea," pp. 321-368; *Critic*, I: 142-152 (December 27, 1828, and January 3, 1829); 3.

"Near-sighted," *Critic*, I: 13-16 (November 1, 1828); 3.

"Recollections of a Revolutionary Soldier," *Critic*, I: 55-60 (November 22, 1828).

"The Stanton Ghost; or, Mistake of the Press," *Critic*, I: 72-76 (November 29, 1828); 3.

"The Fatal Lie of Benevolence," *Critic*, I: 90-92 (December 6, 1828); 3.

"A Burial at Sea," *Critic*, I: 174-175 (January 10, 1829); 3.

"The Capture of Fort Montgomery," *Critic*, I: 189-192 (January 17, 1829).

"A Watch in the Main-top," *Critic*, I: 207-210 (January 24 and 31, 1829); 3; 5, second edition.

"White Hands; or Not Quite in Character," *Critic*, I: 223-228 (January 31, and February 7, 1829).

"Running the Mail," *Critic*, I: 254-255 (February 14, 1829).

"St. Martin's Cave," *Critic*, I: 272 (February 21, 1829).

"Tom Wilson and His Burnt Portfolio," *Critic*, I: 320-322 (March 21, 1829).

"The Squatter," *Critic*, I: 356-359, 387-394, 408-415 (April 4, 11, 18, 25, May 2, 1829); 3.

"Ignatius Loyola," *Critic*, II: 10-14 (May 9, 1829).

"Running the Mail: Returning on Board," *Critic*, II: 16-19 (May 9 and 16, 1829).

"The Two Graves," *New York Mirror*, VIII: 2-3, 21-22, 29-30 (July 10, 24, 31, 1830), by "L." Identified in the index of the magazine as being written by Leggett.

"Merry Terry," *New York Mirror*, VIII: 37-39 (August 7, 1830); 5.

"The Main-Truck, or a Leap for Life," *New York Mirror*, VIII: 60-61 (August 28, 1830), by William Leggett; 5.

"A Night at the Ragged-Staff, or a Scene at Gibraltar," *New York Mirror*, IX: 156-157 (November 19, 1831), by William Leggett; 5.

"A Scene off the Cape of Good Hope," *New York Mirror*, X: 193 (December 22, 1832), by "L." This is probably, but not definitely, by Leggett.

"Charles Maitland, or the Mess Chest," *New York Mirror*, XI: 193-194 (December 21, 1833), by William Leggett; 5.

"Fire and Water, or the Pirates' Night Cruise," *New York Mirror*, XI: 242-243 (February 1, 1834), by William Leggett; 5.

"The Encounter—A Scene at Sea," *Knickerbocker*, III: 81-90 (February, 1834), by William Leggett; 5.

"Brought to the Gangway," *New York Mirror*, XI: 329-331 (April 19, 1834), by William Leggett; 5.

F. L. Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1923), p. 51, mistakenly ascribes "An Adventure at Sea" to Leggett. The story is by S. Hazard.

3. Essays

"Ear for Music," *New York Mirror*, V: 191 (December 22, 1827); *Critic*, I: 221 (January 31, 1829).

"Hard Words," *New York Mirror*, V: 199 (December 29, 1827); *Critic*, I: 359 (April 11, 1829).

"Sleep," *New York Mirror*, V: 222-223 (January 19, 1828); *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 18, 1828; *Critic*, I: 139 (December 27, 1828).

"Town and Country," *Merchants' Telegraph*, January 26, 1828; *Critic*, I: 124 (December 20, 1828).

"Books," *Merchants' Telegraph*, January 28, 1828.

"What Then?" *Merchants' Telegraph*, January 28, 1828; *Critic*, I: 384 (April 18, 1829).

"Memory," *Merchants' Telegraph*, January 29, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 242 (February 9, 1828); *Critic*, I: 108 (December 13, 1828).

"Newspapers," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 1, 1828; *Critic*, I: 355 (April 4, 1829).

"On the Neglect of Genius," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 1, 1828; *Critic*, I: 122-123 (December 20, 1828).

"Intruders," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 2, 1828; reworked into "Desultory Thoughts on Death and Time," *Critic*, I: 159-160 (January 3, 1829).

"Weather," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 4, 1828; *Critic*, I: 172 (January 10, 1829), called "Influence of the Weather on the Mind."

"Truth," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 6, 1828.

"Characters Likened to Musical Instruments," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 6, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 254 (February 16, 1828).

"Time," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 7, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 258 (February 23, 1828); *Critic*, I: 92-93 (December 6, 1828).

"Curiosity," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 12, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 258 (February 23, 1828); *Critic*, I: 77 (November 29, 1828).

"Early Genius," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 13, 1828; *Critic*, I: 123-124 (December 20, 1828).

"Pedantry," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 14, 1828; *Critic*, I: 138-139 (December 27, 1828).

"Novels," *New York Mirror*, V: 255 (February 16, 1828).

"Jesting," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 19, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 290 (March 22, 1828).

"Biography," *Merchants' Telegraph*, February 26, 1828.

"Perseverance," *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 7, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 290 (March 22, 1828); *Critic*, I: 93-94 (December 6, 1828).

"Literary Fame," *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 11, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 290 (March 22, 1828).

"Constancy," *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 13, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 290 (March 22, 1828); *Critic*, I: 61 (November 22, 1828).

"Home," *New York Mirror*, V: 287 (March 15, 1828); *Critic*, I: 76 (November 29, 1828).

"Promise," *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 19, 1828.

"Idleness," *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 24, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 310 (April 5, 1828); *Critic*, I: 76-77 (November 29, 1828).

"Health," *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 25, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 310 (April 5, 1828).

"Retrospection," *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 26, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 310 (April 5, 1828); *Critic*, I: 94 (December 6, 1828).

"Nil mortalibus arduum est," *Merchants' Telegraph*, March 27, 1828.

"Authors," *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 1, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 314-315 (April 12, 1828); *Critic*, I: 77-78 (November 29, 1828).

"Insincerity," *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 1, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 315 (April 12, 1828); *Critic*, I: 137 (December 27, 1828).

"Industry," *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 2, 1828; *New York Mirror*, V: 315 (April 12, 1828); *Critic*, I: 93 (December 6, 1828).

"Death," *New York Mirror*, V: 314 (April 12, 1828).

"Mediocrity," *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 15, 1828; *Critic*, I: 124-125 (December 20, 1828).

"Death," *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 17, 1828; *Critic*, I: 137-138 (December 27, 1828). Not the same essay as the second above.

"Anticipation of Evil," *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 26, 1828; *Critic*, I: 137 (December 27, 1828).

"Riches," *Critic*, I: 107-108 (December 13, 1828).

"Hope," *Critic*, I: 108-109 (December 13, 1828).

"Party Misrepresentation," *Critic*, I: 172-173 (January 10, 1829).
"Love of Novelty," *Critic*, I: 221 (January 31, 1829).
"Handwriting," *Critic*, I: 290-291 (March 7, 1829).
"Habits and Prejudices," *Critic*, I: 291-292 (March 7, 1829).
"Translations of the Iliad," *Critic*, I: 308 (March 14, 1829).
"Oddities of Genius," *Critic*, I: 308 (March 14, 1829).
"Old Dutch Buildings," *Critic*, I: 394-395 (April 25, 1829).
"The Necessity of Application," *Critic*, II: 14-15 (May 9, 1829).

4. Miscellaneous Critical Reviews and Articles of Relative Significance

Forrest as Brutus in John Howard Payne's *Brutus*, *New York Mirror*, V: 171 (December 8, 1827).

Forrest as Shylock, *New York Mirror*, V: 183 (December 15, 1827).

Forrest as Ludovico in Shiel's *Evadne*, *New York Mirror*, V: 198-199 (December 29, 1827).

Forrest as Lear, *Merchants' Telegraph*, January 25, 1828.

Biographical-critical sketches of Bryant, Percival, Pierpont, Sprague, Washington Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Brooks, Woodworth, Pinkney. *New York Mirror*, V: 225-230 (January 26, 1828); *Merchants' Telegraph*, January 28, 1828; *Critic*, I: 105-107 (December 13, 1828), 122 (December 20, 1828), 135-137 (December 27, 1828), 185-188 (January 17, 1829), 201-206 (January 24, 1829), 219-221 (January 31, 1829).

Mrs. Sloman as Lady Macbeth, *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 8, 1828.

Forrest as Macbeth, *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 9, 1828.

Forrest as Sir Giles Overreach, *Merchants' Telegraph*, April 22, 1828.

Forrest as Sir Giles Overreach, *New York Mirror*, V: 335 (April 26, 1828).

Booth as Sir Giles Overreach, *Critic*, I: 45-47 (November 15, 1828).

Forrest as Richard III, *Critic*, I: 47 (November 15, 1828).

Hawthorne's *Fanshawe*, *Critic*, I: 53-55 (November 22, 1828).

Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, *Critic*, I: 69-72 (November 29, 1828).

Biographical-critical sketch of Forrest, *Critic*, II: 57-63 (May 30, 1829).

Charles Kemble as Hamlet, his first appearance in America, New York *Evening Post*, September 18, 1832.

An attack on Washington Irving, *Plaindealer*, I: 102 (January 14, 1837), 131 (January 28, 1837), 186 (February 18, 1837).

"A Poet's Grave," *New York Mirror*, XIV: 281 (March 4, 1837), by "A." F. L. Pleadwell, *Life and Works of Joseph Rodman Drake* (Boston, 1935), p. 26, says that Leggett and Joseph Alexander Adams wrote this article jointly. He gives, however, no positive evidence of Leggett's authorship.

Ellen Tree as Beatrice, *Plaindealer*, I: 300-302 (April 8, 1837).

In addition to the above selected articles Leggett wrote all the literary and dramatic criticism in the following: New York *Merchants' Telegraph*, January 24, 1828, to June 14, 1828; New York *Critic*, November 1, 1828, to June 20, 1829; New York *Plaindealer*, December 31, 1836, to September 30, 1837.

5. Political Editorials

In view of Leggett's close alliance with Bryant on the New York *Evening Post*, positive ascription of editorials to one or the other is extremely difficult. Even Edwin Forrest, Leggett's closest friend, could not distinguish between the writings of the two men. Yet external evidence reveals that Leggett wrote all the editorials in the *Post* from January 19 to February 3, 1832; from May 16 to July 12 of the same year; during the month of July, 1833; May 1, 1834, to October 20, 1835; and on December 9, 1835. It is also possible to identify here and there other editorials by Leggett. Sedgwick, with Bryant's aid, picked many of the important editorials for his collection listed in Part A of this bibliography. Since, however, this collection is incomplete, I have given below a more complete listing of editorials from the *Post* under the subject headings of interests with which Leggett's career is most identified: his criticism of the United States Navy, his ideas on slavery and abolition, his anti-monopoly or "Equal Rights" stand, and his advocacy of bank reform. There is naturally an occasional overlapping in a single editorial of general anti-monopoly sentiment and ideas on bank reform. In such cases I have listed the editorial under that subject toward which it seems most weighted. A few miscellaneous editorials have also been included. In *The Plaindealer* and the New York *Examiner* Leggett continued his same crusades; but since he wrote all the editorials in those newspapers, there is no problem of identification. I have therefore not included anything from the two under the headings below.

On unscrupulous press defamation of public characters, August 24, 1829. Probably his first political editorial.

For universal suffrage, July 5, 1833.

A defense of the laboring class, October 1, 2, 3, 1834.

For workers' unions, March 11, May 2, 1835.

For an eight or nine hour work day, June 5, 1835.

On the death of Chief Justice Marshall, July 10, 28, 29, 31, August 3, 4, 6, 1835.

Criticism of the United States Navy and its discipline (including his attack on his former captain, John Orde Creighton):

November 13, December 29, 31, 1829; January 27, February 3, 1830; February 11, June 1, July 1, 1831; January 21, 27, February 2, 21, 1832; March 11, April 3, 7, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, May 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 13, 18, 20, 21, 27, 29, June 11, 15, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, July 8, 14, 16, 21, 24, 27, August 3, 5, 11, 14, 19, 25, 26, 1835.

Slavery and Abolition:

July 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 24, 25, 31, September 23, 1834; July 16, August 12, 15, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, September 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, October 1, 7, 8, 12, 1835.

Anti-monopoly or Equal Rights principle:

May 7, 22, October 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, November 1, 19, 20, 24, 26, 27, 28, December 27, 1834; January 21, March 23, October 10, 1835.

Bank Reform:

June 5, 28, July 5, 17, 19, 24, August 2, 6, 11, 25, 26, September 18, December 24, 29, 1834; January 8, February 11, March 12, May 7, 11, 12, August 25, September 6, October 3, 1835.

Manuscript Resources for the Study of William Cullen Bryant[1]

By Herman E. Spivey

THE average student of American literature has little concept of Bryant's enormous reputation and prestige in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, a reputation in America not equalled by any other writer, I believe, unless it be Irving. At eighty, as Nevins has said of Bryant's reputation in New York City, he had "long since become the most distinguished resident of the city, referred to and honored as its first citizen. In civic, charitable, and social movements his name was given precedence. . . ."[2] His prestige was based not only on his poetry, lectures, and hundreds of editorials, but also on the consistent moral idealism discernible in all his poetry, lectures, and editorials. As George Bancroft said, in his long career as journalist Bryant preserved a perfect consistency with himself, "an unswerving, unselfish fidelity" to his convictions, "a continuous record of patriotism and integrity."[3] I doubt that any other prominent man in American literary history has written on public affairs as frequently, as comprehensively, as earnestly, and as discriminatingly as Bryant. His voluminous comments on public affairs for more than half a century cover the administrations of twelve presidents: Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant,

[1] I am deeply indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies and to the Research Fund Committee of the University of Kentucky for financial assistance in assembling the information here presented.

[2] Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post; A Century of Journalism* (New York, Boni and Liveright [1922]), p. 338.

[3] *The Bryant Festival at* **The Century** (New York, 1865), pp. 7-8.

and Hayes. And his comments were neither cursory nor occasional, but regular and thoughtful. John Bigelow, his editorial associate for many years on the *Evening Post* and co-owner of the paper for a while, gives an impressive indication of this astonishing scope, even when we make large allowance for Bigelow's favorable prejudice. "I think it quite safe to say," Bigelow reports, "that for five days every week during at least forty-two of his fifty-two years of editorial service, Mr. Bryant was at his editorial desk before eight o'clock in the morning, and left the daily impression of his character and genius in some form upon the columns of his journal. It would be difficult to name a single topic of national importance . . . upon which Bryant did not find occasion to form and publish an opinion."[4] For at least two decades, moreover (1840-1860), the direct influence of Bryant's paper (which bore the stamp of his character) upon public policies was probably greater than that of any other journal except the *Tribune*, as Miss Clapp has recently asserted.[5] Mr. Leonard and Mr. Nevins agree on the source of this influence—"in no other editor has there been such culture, scholarship, wisdom, dignity, moral idealism,"[6] Leonard asserts; and Nevins concludes that "the foundation of Bryant's power as an editor lay simply in his soundness of judgment, and his unwavering courage in maintaining it."[7] These twentieth-century estimates are in harmony with the succinct evaluations of Bryant's contemporaries, Lowell and Longfellow. "He has written noble verse and led a noble life,"[8] wrote Longfellow on November 5, 1864, fourteen years before Bryant had completed his "noble life." On the same occasion Lowell wrote of "Bryant, who as Poet has done

[4] *Bryant Memorial Meeting of the Century Club*, New York, Nov. 12, 1878, pp. 27-28.

[5] Margaret A. Clapp, *Forgotten First Citizen: John Bigelow* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1947), p. 62.

[6] "Bryant and the Minor Poets," in: *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I: 276.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 350.

[8] *The Bryant Festival at* **The Century** (New York, 1865), p. 58.

so much for the honor of his country, and, as Editor, so much for its salvation."[9] It is no wonder that Lincoln said of Bryant in 1860, "It is worth a visit from Springfield, Illinois, to New York to make the acquaintance of such a man as William Cullen Bryant"; that he solicitously said of his own Cooper Union address, "I would like to know what Mr. Bryant thought of it";[10] or that a Chicago friend of Lincoln wrote Bryant on January 8, 1861, urging him to come to see Lincoln at Springfield: "Mr. Lincoln has profound respect for your fidelity for the cause and for your disinterestedness and will be greatly interested in your advice."[11]

A writer of such large interests and reputation is an excellent focal point through which to study nineteenth-century culture in America. Yet, exclusive of Allan Nevins' study of the *Evening Post*, comparatively little has been written about Bryant's career as publicist, in spite of the fact that his relative significance as a journalist among journalists is greater than his excellence as a poet among poets. Moreover, there is no edition of his correspondence which is halfway complete; no critical biography; no adequate representation of his editorial writing; no critical or nearly complete edition of his poetry. The basic scholarship on Bryant, in short, except for the younger man, remains to be done. One reason is that manuscript materials have been badly scattered, and the most valuable collection of letters and manuscripts is scarcely known or accessible to modern scholars. No doubt hundreds of letters remain uncollected; and, because Bryant regularly used the backs of letters on which to write his editorials and even rough drafts of other letters and his poems, we shall never recover a large number of the letters he received.[12]

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[10] James A. Briggs, *An Authentic Account of . . . Lincoln Being Invited to Give an Address in Cooper Institute* (New York, February 27, 1860), p. 4.

[11] An unpublished letter from C. H. Ray in the Bryant-Godwin Papers of the New York Public Library.

[12] This is strikingly illustrated by manuscript versions of Bryant's translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, many parts of which are written on the backs of letters, torn or cut into uniform size. A student consulting the translations is torn between the desire to follow the poet's revisions in the translations as shown on one side of

Nevertheless, there are available now in public institutions enough unexplored manuscript material to allow a reinterpretation of Bryant. Without claiming to be inclusive, I hope here to direct attention to some of these manuscript resources and give enough information about each to indicate its nature and extent. Of the eighteen collections briefly described here, seventeen are in public institutions of eight states, and thirteen are significant in extent and value. Fortunately, most of them are either catalogued or arranged in some reasonably convenient order. The finest of all bodies of Bryant material is a relatively inaccessible private collection uncatalogued and unprotected against loss by fire. Through the courtesy of the present custodians of this collection and the coöperation of the New York Public Library, this splendid body of manuscripts was microfilmed in the summer of 1948 and the microfilm copy deposited in the Library.

Appropriately, the New York Public Library (in "Bryant Park") contains the greatest number of Bryant collections and the most comprehensive ones.[13] Besides one of the family scrapbooks, most of the editions of Bryant's works, and the printed proceedings of various Bryant festivals, the Library has six special collections either devoted entirely to Bryant or containing a large amount of closely related material.

I. *The Bryant-Godwin Collection, New York Public Library*

Although this collection is not catalogued, it is conveniently arranged (in alphabetic order, according to the names of the correspondents) in seventeen boxes. It is the most extensive and most valuable arranged collection in any institution. These papers were given to the Library (1924-1926) by Mrs. Minna G. Goddard. They consist chiefly of correspondence, mostly to and from William Cullen Bryant, but partly to Parke Godwin and family. Counting the letters to Godwin, more than 700 cor-

the sheets and the tantalizing temptation to read the letters on the other. This temptation, however, is soon reduced by frustration, because page 2 of a given letter may be in the translation "books" away from page 1, and page 3 may not have been used as scratch paper at all.

[13] In fact, this library seems to be rapidly becoming the largest single depository of rare books and manuscripts for the study of nineteenth-century English and American literature.

respondents are represented, some with only one letter and some with many. The list of correspondents is too large to be reproduced here in full. It includes Charles F. Adams, S. A. Allibone, Matthew Arnold, George Bancroft, J. W. Bartlett, H. W. Bellows, Park Benjamin, George Bethune, John Bigelow, J. G. Blaine, G. H. Boker, N. I. Bowditch, Benjamin F. Butler, Henry C. Carey, Andrew Carnegie, Lewis Cass, William Henry Channing, Francis J. Child, Cassius M. Clay, F. S. Cozzens, Charles A. Dana, R. H. Dana, E. A. Duyckinck, Edward Everett, T. S. Fay, S. W. Fay, C. C. Felton, W. P. Fessenden, D. D. Field, J. T. Fields, Timothy Flint, J. G. Forman, R. W. Gilder, Samuel Gilman, Horace Greeley, Horatio Greenough, R. W. Griswold, E. E. Hale, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Bret Harte, Julian Hawthorne, John Hay, Paul H. Hayne, Abram S. Hewitt, J. G. Holland, S. G. Howe, Leigh Hunt, Helen Hunt Jackson, Washington Irving, Henry Irving, Henry James, William James, John Jay, Joseph Jefferson, Gouverneur Kemble, S. D. Langtree, William Leggett, H. W. Longfellow, J. R. Lowell, R. S. Mackenzie, S. F. B. Morse, Charles Nordhoff, Andrews Norton, J. R. Osgood, Samuel Osgood, Robert D. Owen, Theophilus Parsons, Elizabeth Peabody, Willard Phillips, John Pierpont, Joseph Pulitzer, G. P. Putnam, George Ripley, Eliza Robbins, Julia Sands, Robert Sands, Epes Sargent, H. E. Scudder, Charles F. Sedgwick, H. D. Sedgwick, Theodore Sedgwick, Lydia H. Sigourney, William Gilmore Simms, Jared Sparks, E. C. Stedman, A. B. Street, Charles Sumner, Bayard Taylor, Israel K. Tefft, Samuel J. Tilden, Henry T. Tuckerman, Martin Van Buren, Gulian C. Verplanck, Jones Very, Booker T. Washington, Richard G. White, N. P. Willis, and Bradford R. Wood.

II. *Bryant Family Papers, New York Public Library*

Less well organized and less extensive than the Bryant-Godwin Collection is a group of Bryant manuscripts in the New York Public Library, generally referred to as the Bryant Family Papers. These fill three large file boxes and consist of about one thousand pieces, acquired with the Wilberforce Eames Papers at the death of Mr. Eames. About two hundred of the letters are to and from various members of the Bryant family other than William Cullen, especially the Illinois Bryants. The largest group are those from Bryant's daughter Julia to Illinois relatives. Approximately twenty of the letters are from William Cullen himself to Illinois relatives (1831-1875).

A curious part of the correspondence, about thirty pages, consists of a sheaf of copied "Communications to the Cummington Society of Hus-

bandmen and Manufacturers in Answer to Letters from the Corresponding Secretary."

These Family Papers also contain the diary (September 15 to December 18, 1837) of Bryant's sister Louisa C. Bryant and a guest book used at Roslyn in 1855, with only a few entries.

III. *Bryant Miscellaneous Papers, New York Public Library*

The letters to Bryant in this comparatively small group are from little-known people; and those from him include four to George P. Putnam (1869, 1870, 1877) and one each to President Andrew Johnson (1868), Theodore Tilton (1868), H. N. Powers (n.d.), Theodore Sedgwick (1856), Dr. Joseph Alden (1864), Mrs. Belle T. Spencer (1864), F. Lee (1872), Joseph Boyd (1848), A. Hart (1851), and R. Bolmann (1861).

This folder of miscellaneous papers also contains a manuscript court docket made by Bryant of his own cases at Lenox, Massachusetts, in 1823 and 1824; an account sheet dated December 21, 1874, with James R. Osgood, showing the number of copies of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* printed and sold from November 1, 1873, to October, 1874; a manuscript version of "Among the Trees"; an early draft of a page of the *Iliad*, showing many revisions; and the manuscript of part of *Letters of a Traveller*, second series, written 1857.

To some students the most valuable item in these Miscellaneous Papers is a list of 762 volumes and 15 pamphlets given in 1892 to the Tilden Trust (ancestor of the New York Public Library) by Julia S. Bryant from Bryant's personal library at Roslyn. A list of these books, known as the Bryant Collection, was prepared by the New York Public Library and is given in Dr. Lydenberg's history of the institution.[14]

IV. *The Berg Collection, New York Public Library*

The famous Albert A. Berg Collection, assigned in 1940 and open to the public since 1945, does not specialize in Bryant materials, of course. This body of rare books and manuscripts is considered to be the most significant collection which has ever come to the library since the consolidation of the Astor and Lenox Libraries with the Tilden Trust. It contains especially valuable and rare items by and about such writers as Dickens, Thackeray, Hazlitt, Browning, Landor, Kipling, Stevenson, Wilde, Bryant, Emerson, Thoreau, Holmes, Whitman, and Twain. The nucleus

[14] Harry M. Lydenberg, *History of the New York Public Library: Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations* (New York, The New York Public Library, 1923).

seems to have been Dr. Berg's earlier collection supplemented by his purchase of the Howe collection from the Howe estate in 1939.

In all, the Berg Collection contains seventy-six letters from Bryant, all except four of them in his own handwriting and signed, ranging from 1821 to 1877, most of them written in the 1860's and 1870's. The largest number pertaining to any one individual is a group of forty ALS and one ANS addressed to Gulian C. Verplanck, 1821-1860. Some of the other addressees are President Lincoln (a fairly long unpublished letter), Julia Ward Howe, R. W. Griswold, John Durand (eight letters), R. H. Dana, H. N. Powers, James Grant Wilson, and George Pope Morris.

There are also ten holograph poems or poem-fragments, including the complete "Thanatopsis," "The Return of the Birds," "The Land of Dreams," and "The Battle Field."

Besides letters and holograph poems, the Berg Collection contains some rare Bryant editions; such valuable volumes as Bryant's own marked copy of *The New York Review*, Volumes I and II (1825-1826); and an inscribed presentation copy of the first edition of Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, one of the five first-edition copies of this work in the collection.

V. *Bryant Manuscripts in the Goddard-Roslyn Collection, New York Public Library*

The largest and finest Bryant manuscript collection is uncatalogued and relatively inaccessible, for it is not in any public institution but in the custody of Bryant heirs, including Bryant's great-grandson, Mr. Conrad G. Goddard of Roslyn, Long Island. Fortunately, through their courtesy and help practically the whole of this vast body of manuscript materials was microfilmed in the summer of 1948 by the New York Public Library, where the microfilm copy is now deposited.[15] Manuscript versions of Bryant's translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not reproduced, however.

The core of this remarkable collection was assembled by Parke Godwin in preparation for his biographical and editorial work on his father-in-law's life and writing. It is far too extensive for detailed description here. A major part consists of notes and letters to Bryant, Godwin, and other members of the family (the most valuable of which Godwin published); Bryant's letters to his wife over a period of fifty years (relatively few of

[15] I am very grateful to the American Council of Learned Societies for financial aid in the involved arrangements leading up to the completion of this large microfilming project, and also to the New York Public Library, especially the Manuscript and Photographic Divisions, for actually carrying it out, with my clumsy assistance.

which have ever been published); rough drafts of many letters Bryant wrote (many of the letters Godwin published were from such drafts rather than originals); and a collection of autographed poems (by Hunt, Thomas Moore, Wordsworth, Samuel Rogers). Among writers of letters to Bryant and Godwin are Emerson, Irving, Curtis, Morse, Agassiz, Holmes, Whittier, Simms, Prescott, Bayard Taylor, Fields, Howells, Twain, Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Van Buren, R. B. Hayes, Seward, Daniel Webster, Barnum, Sumner, Garrison, Everett, Bancroft, Booker T. Washington, Greeley, Southey, Hunt, Carlyle, and Dickens. These letters are roughly arranged in alphabetic order according to writer. The largest group of unpublished letters, naturally, is Bryant's correspondence with his wife, arranged chronologically.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the collection consists of manuscript versions of Bryant's poems—hundreds of them. Various versions of a given poem are assembled in most instances, but for the most part there is no indication other than internal evidence of the order of the versions. In their present state, it is impossible to tell how many poems exist in such form—certainly enough to make possible a further study of Bryant's composition practice. In microfilm form these are very difficult to handle, as would be expected.

The collection also contains five diaries or account books by Mrs. William Cullen Bryant and nine by Bryant himself. Mrs. Bryant's diary-journals include (1) a diary of the 1834 journey to Europe; (2) a letter book covering the same trip; (3) a two-volume diary of European travel in 1836; (4) a record of the trip to Europe in 1857; and (5) a fragment of an autobiography. Those of Bryant himself include (1) an expense account for the Florida trip of 1843; (2) a two-volume record of the trip to Europe in 1845; (3) an account of a trip through New England in 1847; (4) a diary of a trip to Havana in 1849; (5) an account of a trip to Europe in 1849; (6) a four-volume record of the visit to Europe and Asia in 1852-1853; (7) a three-volume record of the trip abroad in 1857-1858; (8) an account of the trip to Europe in 1866-1867; and (9) a two-volume record of a journey to Nassau and the Bahama Islands in 1872.

Among many miscellaneous items (unarranged) in the collection are three manuscript lists of Bryant's poems with composition dates. As well as I can ascertain, two of these are in Mrs. Bryant's handwriting and one in Godwin's.

The greatest contribution to future scholarship concerning Bryant and

his large circle would be the acquisition of this vast collection by the New York Public Library, and the arrangement of the materials so that the Bryant-Godwin Collection already there and the new Roslyn collection could form one enormous body of complementary manuscripts. This is truly a consummation devoutly to be wished.

VI. *The John Bigelow Collection, New York Public Library*

At the death of Grace Bigelow, eldest child of John Bigelow and literary executor of the estate, the New York Public Library came into custody of Bigelow's voluminous manuscript diary and more than twenty boxes of manuscript material. Although this collection does not contain much material in Bryant's handwriting, naturally it contains much pertaining to Bryant, with whom Bigelow was connected as associate editor and co-owner of the *Evening Post* for thirteen of Bryant's most important years, 1848-1861.

VII. *The Library of the New-York Historical Society*

These six large collections of Bryant materials at the New York Public Library make that institution, appropriately, the most important center for prospective Bryant research. It is convenient that other valuable Bryant letters and manuscripts are nearby, in the library of the second oldest historical society in the United States, the New-York Historical Society, founded in 1804. It will be remembered that Bryant had many close associations with this organization, especially during his last decade. He was foreign corresponding secretary in 1871-1872 and was its Vice-President for the last five years of his life, 1873-1878.

Bryant materials in the Library of the New-York Historical Society consist of twenty-six signed letters from Bryant himself and four from his wife, early manuscript versions of seven poems, and a group of Bryant miniatures. The letters, dated mostly in the 'sixties and 'seventies, are addressed to J. S. Buckingham, John Bryant, Mrs. C. Bryant, R. G. Parker, G. C. Verplanck, E. D. Morgan, George Bancroft, Gideon Welles, General Hillhouse, James W. Beekman, W. P. Fessenden, John Rogers, Stephen Massett, Dr. F. A. Chevy, J. C. Derby, F. de Peyster, L. Trumbull, and the Rev. and Mrs. R. C. Waterston.

The poems in early manuscript versions are "The Return of the Birds" (incomplete), "The Land of Dreams," "The Twenty-Seventh of March —1855" (several variant versions, with many interlinear revisions), "A Day Dream" (two noticeably variant versions with many interlinear re-

visions), "The Poet," "O Mother of a Mighty Race," and "The Garden of Alcinous" (from the seventh book of the *Odyssey*).

This library also has a miniature-on-ivory of Bryant's mother and one of his wife, and five miniatures of Bryant himself, based on the work of such artists as Henry K. Brown, Henry Peters Gray, John Rogers, and Henry Inman.

VIII. *The Thomas Cole Manuscripts, Albany, New York*

At least one other library in New York state contains a small number of Bryant manuscripts: the New York State Library at Albany. The six letters from Bryant there are all addressed to or are about Cole: one in 1830 to Cole in Europe and in behalf of William Cox, correspondent for the New York *Mirror;* three in 1841 introducing Cole to several of Bryant's European friends, one to Cole enclosing the letters of introduction, and one to Cole in 1843 about Cole's picture of Mt. Etna.

Outside New York the largest amount of Bryant manuscript material is in Massachusetts: at the Boston Public Library, the libraries of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Harvard College, Williams College, and Longfellow House.

IX. *The Boston Public Library*

The Boston Public Library contains thirty-nine letters from Bryant and two manuscript poems. Most of the letters, twenty-three of them, are addressed to Charles Folsom, all but two in the 1820's. One of Folsom's letters to Bryant is here, too, dated August 18, 1833, and describing Longfellow's projected school for young ladies in New York. As is true of many other letters in this and other Massachusetts collections, the Bryant-Godwin Collection at New York contains complementary correspondence filling in the gaps. Five of the letters in the Boston Public Library are to Theophilus Parsons, 1823-1824, relating mostly to Bryant's work for the *Gazette;* three are to Rufus W. Griswold, 1844-1846 (other Griswold letters are in the New York Public Library); one to James T. Fields; and four others to less well-known people.

The two manuscript poems are "Dante" and five stanzas from "The Strange Lady."

X. *The Massachusetts Historical Society*

The most extensive collection in Massachusetts is that at the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, consisting of sixty-six items, largely letters by Bryant. (During the last seventeen years of his life Bryant

was an honorary member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.) In date these letters are distributed as follows: nine in the 1820's, one in the 1830's, sixteen in the 1840's, seven in the 1850's, twenty-three in the 1860's, and ten in the 1870's. About half of these are addressed to George Bancroft, and many of the others to the two Danas. Godwin published a large amount of the Dana-Bryant correspondence, especially the senior Dana's letters to Bryant; but the Roslyn, Bryant-Godwin, and Massachusetts Historical Society letters combined would greatly enlarge Godwin's list, especially of Bryant's part of the correspondence.

XI. *The Houghton Library, Harvard University*

Bryant's correspondence in the 1860's was so large that it is easy to find many letters covering this period, but letters of the 1820's are fewer and harder to find. The Houghton Library at Harvard contains seventy-four Bryant letters in all, seventeen of them written before 1830, mostly to Jared Sparks. Some of the other addressees are Charles Sumner (other correspondence with Sumner is in the New York Public Library), William Dean Howells, Willard Phillips, Theodore Sedgwick, H. W. Bellows, Josephine Bond, Henry Romelly, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, E. T. Channing, Henry A. Smythe, F. J. Child, Dorothea L. Dix, Laura S. Webb, Mrs. Hanna Parsons, Samuel Henshaw, and S. G. Ward.

XII. *Williams College*

The Library of Williams College contains eight letters from Bryant, four of them to the Reverend Calvin Durfee (not published by Godwin) and two to President Mark Hopkins. Godwin published Dr. Hopkins' response to one of these, the letter dated June 26, 1869, enclosing a gift of $500 for Williams College. "Strange times we live in," replied Dr. Hopkins, "when poets not only possess money, and patronize literature, but make better speeches than anybody else"—referring to Bryant's response to an alumni dinner toast at the recent college commencement.[16] In addition to these, the library contains the originals of C. F. Sedgwick's and E. D. Barrett's letters to James Grant Wilson, letters which he published in *Bryant and His Friends.*

The library also has two manuscript poems: "Ode for the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Bennington" and a fragment from Book 5 of the *Odyssey.*

[16] Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant* . . . (New York, Appleton, 1883), II: 280.

XIII. *The Longfellow House, Cambridge*

Sixty-three of Bryant's letters and twenty-two of his manuscript poems were in the custody of Longfellow's grandson, the late Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, at the Longfellow House, Cambridge, as were also four letters from Mrs. Bryant and eleven from Julia. About half of the Bryant letters are either copies or incomplete texts. Fifty-three of them are addressed to the first R. H. Dana, five to Longfellow, three to Ruth Charlotte Dana, one to Hale, and one to Edmund T. Dana. They are fairly evenly spread over the years, covering Bryant's whole career. Eight of them are dated in the eighteen-twenties, nine in the 'thirties, nine in the 'forties, five in the 'fifties, thirteen in the 'sixties, six in the 'seventies, and three are undated.

The titles of the twenty-two manuscript poems by Bryant are as follows: "The Rivulet," "March," "To —," "An Indian Story," "Monument Mountain," "After the Tempest," "Song ("Dost thou idly ask to hear . . ."), "Sonnet" ("Yet one smile more . . ."), "Autumn Woods," "To a Cloud," "Song of the Grecian Amazon," "Summer Wind," "Sonnet" ("Aye! thou art welcome . . ."), "Sonnet" ("They talk of short lived pleasure . . ."), "A Song of Pitcairn's Island," "Lines on Revisiting the Country," "The Death of the Flowers," "Poetry," "The West Wind," "Her Last Adieu," "The Future Life," and "When the Good Shepherd Leads."

The Bryant correspondence in these five Massachusetts collections makes a welcome supplement to the much more extensive correspondence in the various New York collections. In contrast to the New York materials, those in Massachusetts include very few manuscripts other than letters. Their greatest value lies in completing or nearly completing correspondence only partially represented in the New York groups.

XIV. *Yale University Library*

Outside Massachusetts the nearest collection is at Yale. Besides a valuable collection of Bryant first editions and pamphlets, Yale has at least twenty-eight manuscript letters by Bryant, nearly all of which were written in the 1860's and 1870's. One of the exceptions is a letter to Washington Irving, dated April 24, 1832. The others are addressed to T. W. Higginson, Dr. T. A. Cheney, James Grant Wilson, G. H. Bryant, Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, Mrs. L. M. Child, W. H. Stockwell and others.

The Stuart Jackson Collection at Yale contains one of Bryant's manuscript poems, signed by himself, the memorial ode for Abraham Lincoln.

XV. *The Library of Congress*

Two large collections at the Library of Congress contain several letters from and to Bryant, and ten others contain one or more letters each. These others are the Van Buren Papers, the Andrew Johnson Papers, the Andrew Jackson Papers, the Carl Schurz Papers, the William L. Marcy Papers, the Papers of George Bancroft, the Chase Papers, the Manton Marble Papers, the Isaac Briggs Papers, and Personal Papers Miscellaneous. The more interesting of the two large collections is the famous Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, made available on July 26, 1947. These contain twenty-one letters from Bryant to Lincoln. Until a selection from these papers was prepared for publication by Mr. David C. Mearns, only one of the twenty-one letters to Lincoln had been published accurately (the one Sandburg sent to the Chicago *Tribune* in the summer of 1947); and only five others had been published in any version. Godwin seems to have had rough and sometimes incomplete drafts of these five. When the Collection was opened, one of the unknown treasures revealed was the reasonably extensive correspondence between Lincoln and Bryant, from June 16, 1860, to January 24, 1865, most of which even at this writing remains unpublished.

This Bryant-Lincoln correspondence can be supplemented by a few letters in the Goddard-Roslyn Collection (microfilm copy in the New York Public Library), a letter from Bryant to Lincoln in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, and the Schurz and Nicolay Papers at the Library of Congress.

The other large collection at Washington containing much Bryant correspondence is the Hamilton Fish Correspondence. Fish and Bryant were friends for thirty years: and during Fish's eight years of service as Secretary of State (1869-1877) he revealed an acute interest in Bryant's political judgment and a deferential respect for his opinions. Back as early as 1851 he wrote Bryant that he had been "seeking information" daily from the *Evening Post* since boyhood, and "rarely have I sought in vain. Although it has been my lot to differ in my views of many of the important questions which it has discussed . . . , I have always admired the force, the ability & the fearlessness with which it has maintained its own views."[17] Twenty-two years later, as the then Secretary of State, he wrote Bryant about a government crisis over Spain-Cuba-U. S. relations and asked for

[17] Nov. 29, 1851. Correspondence of Hamilton Fish, Letter Book 9, Library of Congress.

Bryant's advice.[18] The Fish-Bryant Correspondence has not been recovered in full, but the Library of Congress has ten of Bryant's letters to Fish and four from him.

XVI. *Duke University Library*

Besides the private collection of twenty Bryant letters at the "Hampton" estate of the Ridgleys in Baltimore County,[19] the only other group of Bryant manuscripts in the South which I know about is in the Manuscript Department of the Duke University Library. This group contains twenty-three letters from Bryant himself and two from his daughter Julia. As is true of other Bryant collections outside New York, these letters were written mostly in the 1860's and 1870's. They are addressed to such people as George Bancroft, John H. Bryant, Cary and Hart, George R. Graham (submitting "The Paradise of Tears" and offering two of his brother's poems at $10 each), Paul Hamilton Hayne, Julia Ward Howe, J. R. Osgood and Company, T. Sedgwick, Israel K. Tefft, and Lyman Trumbull.

XVII. *William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan*

The Clements Library contains a letter to Bryant from James G. Birney (October 18, 1847) and two letters from Bryant to Birney (March 19, 1834, and September 8, 1857).

XVIII. *The Huntington Library*

The Huntington Library has twenty-six Bryant letters, thirty-three manuscript poems, six handwritten translations, and an eighty-four-page legal case-book.

The manuscript poems, ranging in date from 1826 to 1874, include "After the Tempest," "Autumn Woods," "Conjunction of Jupiter and Venus," "The Damsel of Peru," "The Disinterred Warrior," "The Lapse of Time," "The Song of the Stars," "Monument Mountain," "On the Last Judgement," "A Rain Dream," "Spring in Town," "The Spring's Walk," "Thanatopsis" (1817 edition), "The Old Man's Funeral," "March," "The Rivulet," "Song—Love's Seasons," "An Indian at the Burying Place of his Fathers," "Hymn of the Waldenses," "Son-

[18] Nov. 17, 1873. Correspondence of Hamilton Fish, Library of Congress. Bryant responded Nov. 19.

[19] Letters to Mrs. L. M. S. Moulton, covering the period 1849-1878. These have been edited by W. D. Hoyt, Jr., and published in *New York History*, XXI: 63-70, 193-204 (Jan., April, 1940).

net—Mutation," "Sonnet—November," "Song of the Grecian Amazon," "To ——," "An Indian Story," "Summer Wind," "To a Water Fowl," "Rizpah," "The Prodigal's Return," "Hymn to the North Star," "The Grecian Partizan," "To a Cloud," "The Murdered Traveller," and "The Return of Youth."

The letters cover about the same period and are addressed to such people as Theophilus Parsons, Charles Folsom, R. W. Griswold, Hawthorne, Schoolcraft, George P. Morris, Allibone, Francis Lieber, and Mrs. L. M. S. Moulton.

In addition to manuscript poems and letters by Bryant, the Huntington Library has several of Bryant's autographed translations from the Spanish (José Maria de Heredia, Ponce de Leon, and Estevan Manuel de Villegas), a two-page poem translated from Clement Marot, and part of *The Odyssey*, Book V.

The manuscript legal case-book and notebook covers the years 1823 to 1827 and contains a few random notes in addition to the abstracts of cases, mostly in shorthand.

No doubt there are other Bryant manuscripts in places other than those mentioned in this survey, but I think these eighteen collections contain most of the assembled material. (Some significant manuscript materials are in Illinois in the possession of some of the descendants of William Cullen's brothers, but I have not been able to get details concerning whatever is there.) Certainly these collections are sufficient in number, nature, and scope to make desirable and to help make possible a critical biography of Bryant, an edition of his correspondence, and an edition of his poems, all of which are decidedly needed.

With all his limitations as a poet, in the 1820's Bryant was the best producing poet in the United States; and for fifty years after 1825 he was one of our best and most influential journalists and liberals. There have been few men so creatively gifted, so well informed, so actively and influentially interested in national and civic improvement, so consistently liberal as an adult, and so noble in character. Any nation might well be proud of such a citizen at any time.

Bibliographical Notes

Compositors' Methods With Two Quartos Reprinted by Augustine Mathewes

I

Middleton and Rowley's *A Faire Quarrell* (*S. T. C.* 17911) was first printed by George Eld and published by John Trundle in 1617. For 2 September 1621 the *Stationers' Register* records that Trundle assigned to Thomas Dewe two plays, *A Faire Quarrell* and *Greenes Tu Quoque*.[1] The second edition (*S. T. C.* 17912) seems to have been printed several months later. The title page reads: A Faire Quarrell.| VVith new Additions of M. *Chaughs* and| *Trimtrams* Roaring, and the Bauds Song.| As it was Acted before the King, by the Prince| *his Highnesse Seruants.*| [Bracket]| Written by *Thomas Middleton,*| and *William Rowley.*| [Bracket]| Gent.| [Woodcut of the duellists, identical with the cut in Q_1]| Printed at London by *A. M.* for *Thomas Dewe* and are| to be sold at his shop in S. *Dunstones* Church-| yard, in Fleetstreet. 1622.| The contents of the quarto are these: A_1: title page. A_{1v}: blank. A_2-A_{2v}: The Epistle (dedication to Robert Grey). A_3: head title. A_3-K_{4v}: text.

That the printer was Augustine Mathewes is proved by the correspondence of the headpiece preceding the Epistle on A_2 with that on G_{1v} of Immanuel Bourne, *The Godly Mans Guide . . . Printed by A. M. for Geo: Fayerbeard . . . 1620* (*S. T. C.* 3417); and the foliate initial T on A_2 of *FQ* is also found on A_2 of Theophilus Field, *A Christians Preparation . . . 1622* (*S. T. C.* 10860) and on B_1 of Samuel Ward, *The Life of Faith . . . 1622* (*S. T. C.* 25050), both of which bear Mathewes's name. Though both headpiece and initial may have been from castings, their apparent identity in these books, in conjunction with the printer's initials, removes any doubt. Mathewes, who printed other books for Dewe about this time, had at least two presses as is shown in Part II of this note.

In the main the second quarto of *FQ* is a normal line-for-line resetting of a copy of the second issue of Q_1. Issue 2 of Q_1 differs from Issue 1 prin-

[1] Arber, *Transcript*, IV: 58.

cipally by the presence of three additional leaves signed H_4, H_3, blank; these leaves are bound into the quarto between the third and fourth leaves of the original gathering H, and so offer a source of confusion. The fact that the last leaf of Q_1 is signed K_2 seems to have misled the compositors of Q_2 as to the length of Q_1 in actual pages. Although Issue 2 of Q_1 appears to have made up but a small part of the edition, Dewe was careful enough to find a copy of it, rather than of Issue 1, for Mathewes.[2]

The remarkable feature of Q_2 is that part of it was set twice, and that the duplication was bound, seemingly in the whole edition, before the error was discovered. It is clear that a second compositor began work at C, and that he composed four pages, C-C_{2v}. We know this because he re-set the text of four pages, B_3-B_{4v}, which had already been composed. Doubtless he did so unawares, for no satisfactory motive can be supposed for duplicating his own or a fellow-compositor's work. The most probable explanation of the mistake is that he took up the job some time after the first compositor had left it. Knowing that his copy was Q_1, he glanced at his predecessor's last galley pages, saw that the B signatures had been completed, and concluded that he was to begin C; accordingly, he set C of Q_1 again, forgetting that in Q_1 the preliminaries had been composed last and that the text had begun with B_1 instead of with A_3. Apparently the book he used as copy had not been dismembered or even marked by the first compositor. If it seems incredible that a printer could make the second compositor's blunder, we have to suppose a less credible mistake—that two men worked on the job at the same time, using two copies of Q_1, and that when the second man was assigned to help, the first said, "I am just finishing B. You begin C," without mentioning the discrepancy in signatures between Q_1 and Q_2. It is still more improbable that a part of this small printing job should have been let out to another shop. The implication of the first explanation above is that the printing of Q_2 was protracted; and the evidence of the running titles[3] strengthens the implication, for only one skeleton was used (and therefore but one press), and three times

[2] In *The Library*, 5th series, IV: 140 (1949), I erred in saying 4 copies of Issue 2 survive. Only 3 are known (those in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Eton College, and Harvard libraries), and the Eton copy lacks A_2 and the "Additions." *I.e.*, 2 of the 11 known copies of Q_1 are perfect exemplars of Issue 2.

[3] The occurrence of the four running titles is as follows:

A_{3v} B_{3v} B_{4v} C_3 C_4 D_3 D_4 E_1 E_2 F_1 F_2 G_1 G_2 H_{1v} H_{2v} I_{1v} I_{2v} K_{1v} K_{2v}
A_4 B_1 B_2 C_{1v} C_{2v} D_{1v} D_{2v} E_{3v} E_{4v} F_{3v} F_{4v} G_{3v} G_{4v} H_1 H_2 I_1 I_2 K_3 K_4
A_{4v} B_3 B_4 C_{3v} C_{4v} D_{3v} D_{4v} E_{1v} E_{2v} F_{1v} F_{2v} G_{1v} G_{2v} H_{3v} H_{4v} I_{3v} I_{4v} K_{3v} K_{4v}
B_{1v} B_{2v} C_1 C_2 D_1 D_2 E_3 E_4 F_3 F_4 G_3 G_4 H_3 H_4 I_3 I_4 K_1 K_2

the lock-up man abandoned the normal sequence in transferring skeletons, possibly upon resuming work after a time.[4]

It would seem that reprint quartos were not much corrected at the press, presumably because it is much easier to set type from printed copy than from manuscript. At any rate, I find but one variant among the copies of the first setting of the material (which I shall call the B setting),[5] and none at all among copies of the C setting. The variant in B is merely the correction of a turned letter (*mine* for *miue*) on B_4. If the printers had stopped to correct either forme of C (after glancing at the inner forme of B) probably they would have discovered the repetition of matter. However, the two settings differ considerably from each other and from Q_1. In fact, they offer an extraordinary instance of the degree of variation two men, apparently about equally practiced in their trade, introduce into 152 lines of identical material as they set it. The differences may be summarized thus:

Counting every variation of spelling, punctuation, and font (except the difference in signatures) the compositor of B setting introduces 133 variants from his copy, Q_1. Of these, only five may, I think, be called significant—changes that might conceivably cause difficulty or misinterpretation for the reader. Perhaps the worst is the substitution of *to* for *no* in this passage on B_3:

> It may be but a trifle, a small debt,
> Shall need to rescew heere.

[4] The presence of at least four watermarks (probably more) in the copies (Folger and Library of Congress) that I have examined in hand also suggests a protracted printing.

The somewhat unusual habit of signing the fourth leaf of the gathering is found in Q_2 in all but B, D, and K. I do not find fourth leaves signed in 8 other of Mathewes's quartos that I have seen.

[5] I have collated gatherings B and C of the following copies of Q_2:

Harvard: lacks B_3-B_{4v}
Boston Public: lacks B_4-B_{4v}, C_1-C_{1v}
Folger: " " "
Library of Congress: " " "
Huntington: has both settings
British Museum (162.d.37): has both settings

According to Greg, in proofs of *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, II: 496, 12 copies of Q_2 survive, with varying makeup, depending on the way owners have doctored their books to omit one or the other setting or part of both. I have been able to see the proof sheets of the *Bibliography* through the courtesy of Dr. James G. McManaway of the Folger Library.

I have collated the entire text of Q_2 in 2 copies, the Folger in hand and the Huntington in microfilm, and find but 3 variants in addition to the one in B setting mentioned above. Two of them are on B_2; the third is on F_2.

In general this compositor was a careful workman. Yet in mere number of changes he surpasses the compositor of C setting by 45%. The compositor of C introduces 73 variants from Q_1 (not counting signatures and one catchword); of these eight may be called significant. They include omission or substitution of words, radical change of punctuation, and mystifying spelling. The grossest blunders are the substitution of *thy* for *my* in this line on C_{2v}:

I do repeat thy words, Son of a Whore

and the omission of a line on C_{1v} (resulting in a change of catchword on C_{2v}, where the extra space is filled). It is obvious that he was inclined to follow his copy more slavishly, yet with more haste or less attention to meaning, than his colleague. The B compositor is pretty uniform in the number of his changes per page; the C compositor made two or three times as many on some pages as on others.

In spite of these differences one cannot distinguish positively the limits of the sections of the remaining gatherings set by each compositor. However, scrutiny of the variants definitely indicates that the C compositor set D_4-D_{4v}, E_{3v}, I_2-I_3, and K_{4v}; he may also have done D_1, D_3, G_1-G_{2v}, H_1, H_3, H_4, and K_1-K_3. A distinctively superior brand of work marks C_3-C_{4v} and all of F, which presumably were set by the B compositor or someone equally careful. Whoever began gathering H looked ahead and discovered that Issue 2 of Q_1 is anomalously signed and is actually longer by three leaves than its final signature, K_2, indicates. He therefore decided to save space, and by crowding and other means he (and his coworker) succeeded in gaining several lines per gathering. He managed to end on K_{4v}, thus reducing 25 pages of Q_1 to 24; if it had not been for the blunder on C, he could have ended on K_{2v}.

II

In the same year was published *The First and second Part of the troublesome Raigne of John King of England . . . Written by W. Shakespeare . . . London, Printed by Aug. Matthews for Thomas Dewe . . . 1622* (*S. T. C.* 14647). This is a reprint of *The First and second Part of the troublesome Raigne . . . Written by W. Sh. . . . Imprinted at London by Valentine Simmes for John Helme . . . 1611* (*S. T. C.* 14646). According to the *Short-Title Catalogue*, preceding editions had printed the parts separately.

Like Q_2 of *A Faire Quarrell* the 1622 quarto of *The Troublesome Raigne* follows the fonts and spelling of its predecessor with normal closeness. But it supplies what seems to have been omitted by oversight in the quarto of

1611, a title page for the Second Part, G_4.[6] (In 1611 a catchword "The" was placed on G_3, but a dedication "To the Gentleman Readers" begins G_{3v}; the head title and text are on G_4. Probably the title page was never composed.) Moreover, the quarto of 1622 is notable for certain pages of a type face which contrasts markedly with that elsewhere. This difference, which is discernible even in microfilm copies, lies not in height or breadth of the characters, but in tone. The approximately 19% of pages which so differ give the effect of boldface—a contrast of black to white paper easily distinguishable from the grayer quality of the rest.[7] The pages with the distinctive type are the following: D_2, D_{3v} (19 lines at the top of the page), E_{2v}, E_3, F_{2v}, F_3, G_{1v}, G_{2v}, G_3, H_3, H_{3v}, H_4, H_{4v}, I_4, K_{3v}, K_4, L_{4v}. The almost regular recurrence of the phenomenon at once suggests the help of a second compositor who also had other duties—say, readying, locking up, and washing type—and whose aid enabled the first compositor to keep ahead of the presses. Analysis of the running titles also supports this theory.[8] Press 1 began by printing first the outer forme of A, then inner A, then outer B. At this point, apparently, Press 2 became available, and inner C was readied for it, two running titles being taken from outer B and two from inner A. A compositor set four new titles for inner B, which was printed on Press 1; Press 1 also printed outer C. Thereafter, except once, each press printed both formes of a given sheet. Apparently Press 1 worked D, using titles from outer C; Press 2 did E, using titles from inner C. Press 1 worked F and H (as usual, the outer forme first); Press 2, G and I, probably doing the inner formes first (note the movement from I

[6] In wording it is the following head title, altered only as to line length and type style.

[7] I have checked this distinction in two ways: by the judgment of a bibliographer who constantly handles Renaissance editions (he confirmed my impression at once) and by tabulating a list of the distinctive pages in two microfilm copies without referring to my notes on the original edition studied. These tables corresponded exactly. There was little effect of memory in this, for the quarto runs to 88 pages, and some months intervened after my examination of the original.

[8] The series of running titles are these:

A_{2v} B_{4v} C_{3v} E_{1v} E_{4v} G_{1v} G_{2v} I_{1v} I_{2v} K_{1v}
A_{3v} A_{4v} C_{1v} E_{2v} E_{3v} H_{1v} H_{2v} K_{2v} L_{1v} L_{2v}
B_{1v} B_{2v} C_{2v} D_{1v} D_{2v} F_{1v} F_{2v} I_{3v} I_{4v} K_{3v} M_{2v}
B_{3v} C_{4v} D_{3v} D_{4v} F_{3v} F_{4v} H_{3v} H_{4v} K_{4v} L_{3v} L_{4v} M_{1v}
A_3 A_4 C_2 E_1 E_4 G_3 I_1 I_2 K_2 M_1
B_1 B_2 C_1 D_1 D_2 F_1 F_2 H_2 K_1 L_1 L_2
B_3 C_4 E_2 E_3 G_1 G_2 I_3 I_4 K_4 M_2
B_4 C_3 D_3 D_4 F_3 F_4 H_3 H_4 K_3 L_3 L_4

The double sets for versos and rectos indicate the use of 2 presses.

to inner K). When the presses reached K, they once again took one forme each; but L and the half-sheet of M were probably worked by Press 1, which customarily did the outer forme first. In sum, the movement of running titles indicates very expeditious presswork with this quarto. It is not surprising that a second compositor was needed (beginning with sheet D) to tear out a page or two of each gathering of the copy a little ahead of the steady compositor and set it in type from another case, and so keep all hands busy.

It is to be noted that the assistant compositor set for each press alternately, sheet by sheet, except at K. Press 2 rapidly worked off I and was ready for K at the same time as Press 1. The assistant set up two pages of inner K, and the presses each printed one forme. He set one page of outer L for Press 1, probably while inner L was being printed. If Press 2 printed M (using three of the running titles from inner K), it did not begin till Press 1 finished L, for one title was borrowed from L_{4v}. It is more reasonable to assign M to Press 1, for which the full-time compositor was able to set the required four pages of M without help;[9] Press 2 having begun another job after doing K, he was able to set the half sheet while Press 1 finished L. In all, the assistant contributed eight and one-half pages for Press 1, eight pages for Press 2.

George R. Price

Variant Editions of Lyttelton's "To the Memory of a Lady Lately Deceased"

One of the more significant occasional poems published in the eighteenth century, and one often represented in anthologies, including the *Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse*, is Lord Lyttelton's extended monody on his wife, Lucy. Though Lucy died in childbed on the 19th of January, 1747, it was not until October 30 of that year that the *Daily Advertiser* announced the publication of the poem in her memory. One month later, on December 1, the same paper advertised a "Second Edition" hitherto unrecorded in bibliographical accounts. This edition is not so designated on its title-page. Reset throughout, it collates with the earlier

[9] The half sheet of M could have been printed by either of two methods of half-sheet imposition, but the limit of four running titles and the absence of a watermark in the original (the Folger copy) I have examined suggest that the other half of the sheet was cut off for a wrapper; and therefore it may be assumed that only half of sheet M was used for the text of M_1-M_{2v}.

edition as 2° A^2 B-E^2, and may be distinguished from the first only by the points listed below.

	A	*B*
Title-page [length of rule above date]	4.4 cm.	3.9 cm.
Page 3,IV.11 No more my mournful Eye	*indented*	*not indented*
8,XI.18 The Balm of Pity would impart	*indented*	*not indented*
13, c/w Another,	*with comma*	*without comma*
Copies:	ICN, MH	DCL, CtY, ICU

In the few particulars cited, *A* is undoubtedly the more careful production, with the lines indented to correspond to those having similar rhymes, and with the catchword correctly pointed. Edition *B*, on the other hand, bears the signs of what we would expect to find in a reprint carelessly composed and hastily printed to meet the demand for copies. Of the two, then, the latter is very probably the second.

William B. Todd

Mrs. Browning's Contributions to Periodicals: Addenda

In his bibliography of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, T. J. Wise listed seventy of her contributions to periodicals.[1] All of his references were correct, with the possible exception of the third item.[2] He failed, however, to mention several contributions which I have recently discovered. Inasmuch as no full-length bibliography of Mrs. Browning has appeared since Wise's compilation, I add the following list:

1. *New Monthly Magazine* [London], I: 523 (1821).
   "Stanzas, Excited by Some Reflections on the Present State of Greece" (signed at end: *E.B.B.*; has not been reprinted).
2. *New Monthly Magazine*, II: 59 (1821).
   "Thoughts Awakened by Contemplating a Piece of the Palm Which Grows on the Summit of the Acropolis at Athens" (signed at end: *E.B.B.*: reprinted, in a somewhat different version, in *Hitherto Unpublished Poems and Stories* [Boston, 1914], II: 31-33).
3. *The Times*, Tuesday, May 31, 1831.
   "Kings" (signed at end: *E.B.B.*; has not been reprinted).
4. *New Monthly Magazine*, XLV: 82 (1835).
   "Stanzas Addressed to Miss Landon, and Suggested by her 'Stanzas on the Death of Mrs. Hemans'" (reprinted, with slight changes, in *The Seraphim and Other Poems*, 1838).

[1] *A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (London, 1918).

[2] "The Black Slave," *Literary Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1826, signed *Elizabeth*. There is no proof that this was written by Miss Barrett; and since all her contributions of this period were signed *E.B.B.*, Wise was probably not justified in including it.

5. *Monthly Chronicle* [London], V: 297 (1840).
"A Night-Watch by the Sea" (signed: *Elizabeth B. Barrett;* has not been reprinted).
6. *Monthly Chronicle,* VI: 13-17 (1840).
"The Lay of the Rose" (reprinted, with some variations, in *Poems,* 1844).
7. *Ladies' Companion, and Literary Expositor* [New York], I, N.S.: 31-35 (1844).
"The Legend of the Brown Rosarie" (first published in *Finden's Tableaux* [1840], pp. 15-21; reprinted, with minor changes, in *Poems,* 1844).
8. *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* [New York], XV, N.S.: 72-88 (1844).
First half of "A Drama of Exile" (reprinted in *Poems,* 1844).
9. *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* XV, N.S.: 142-152 (1844).
Second half of "A Drama of Exile" (reprinted in *Poems,* 1844).
10. *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* XV, N.S.: 194 (1844).
"Insufficiency" (reprinted in *Poems,* 1844).
11. *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* XV, N.S.: 249 (1844).
"Work" (first published in *Graham's Magazine* [Philadelphia], XXI: 303 [1842]; reprinted in *Poems,* 1844).
12. *The Keepsake* (London, 1855), 16-17.
"My Kate" (reprinted in *Last Poems,* 1862).

GARDNER B. TAPLIN

*Notes on Three Editions of George Crabbe's "Tales"**

The third edition of George Crabbe's *Tales* was not included by René Huchon,[1] A. T. Bartholomew,[2] and H. G. Pollard[3] in their lists of Crabbe's works, and was presumably not examined by them. There are copies of this edition in the libraries of Columbia University in New York City, and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. The following description was derived from these two copies, the former of which was examined by means of photostatic reproductions of certain pages only.

Crabbe, George (1754-1832). *Tales.* Third Edition. London, Hatchard, 1813.

TALES.| BY| THE REV. GEORGE CRABBE, LL.D.| (rule)| IN TWO VOLUMES.| (rule)| THIRD EDITION.| (double rule)| . . .| London:| PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD,| BOOKSELLER TO HER MAJESTY, 190, OPPOSITE ALBANY,| PICCADILLY.| (double rule)| 1813.

* The author gratefully acknowledges receipt of aid from the Research Council of the University of Texas in the form of funds for the purchase of photostats.

[1] René Huchon, *George Crabbe and His Times.* Translated from the French by Frederick Clarke. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1907. (A translation of Huchon's *Un Poète réaliste anglais, George Crabbe.* Paris, Hachette, 1906.)

[2] *Poems by George Crabbe,* Vol. III. Edited by A. W. Ward. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1907.

[3] *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.* Edited by F. W. Bateson. Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1941.

Vol. I: [a]^4, b^8, B-N^8, O^{7,4} Pp. [i-ix] + x-xxiii + [xxiv], [1-5] + 6-205. 27-29 lines + headline and signature line. 110-116 (121-127) x 72 mm.

Vol. II: [a]^2, B-P^8, Q^6. Pp. [i-iv], [1-3] + 4-235 + [236]. 27-29 lines + headline and signature line. 107-116 (118-127) x 72 mm.

Vol. I: [a]$_1{}^a$, half-title; [a]$_1{}^b$, blank; [a]$_2{}^a$, title-page; [a]$_2{}^b$, printer's imprint: "Printed by J. Brettell, Rupert-Street, Haymarket, London"; [a]$_3{}^a$-[a]$_4{}^b$, Dedication to the Duchess Dowager of Rutland; $b_1{}^a$-$b_8{}^a$, Preface to the TALES; $b_8{}^b$, table of contents; $B_1{}^a$, short title; $B_1{}^b$, blank; $B_2{}^a$, title of Tale I; $B_2{}^b$, blank; $B_3{}^a$-$C_4{}^b$, text of Tale I; $C_5{}^a$, title of Tale II; $C_5{}^b$, blank; $C_6{}^a$-$D_6{}^b$, text of Tale II; $D_7{}^a$, title of Tale III; $D_7{}^b$, blank; $D_8{}^a$-$F_1{}^b$, text of Tale III; $F_2{}^a$, title of Tale IV; $F_2{}^b$, blank; $F_3{}^a$-$G_1{}^b$, text of Tale IV; $G_2{}^a$, title of Tale V; $G_2{}^b$, blank; $G_3{}^a$-$I_1{}^a$, text of Tale V; $I_1{}^b$, blank; $I_2{}^a$, title of Tale VI; $I_2{}^b$, blank; $I_3{}^a$-$K_4{}^b$, text of Tale VI; $K_5{}^a$, title of Tale VII; $K_5{}^b$, blank; $K_6{}^a$-$L_6{}^a$, text of Tale VII; $L_6{}^b$, blank; $L_7{}^a$, title of Tale VIII; $L_7{}^b$, blank; $L_8{}^a$-$M_6{}^b$, text of Tale VIII; $M_7{}^a$, title of Tale IX; $M_7{}^b$, blank; $M_8{}^a$-$N_6{}^b$, text of Tale IX; $N_7{}^a$, title of Tale X; $N_7{}^b$, blank; $N_8{}^a$-$O_7{}^a$, text of Tale X; $O_7{}^a$, printer's imprint: "J. BRETTELL, Printer, Rupert-Street, Haymarket, London"; $O_7{}^b$, blank.

Vol. II: [a]$_1{}^a$, half-title; [a]$_1{}^b$, blank; [a]$_2{}^a$, title-page; [a]$_2{}^b$, printer's imprint: "Printed by J. Brettell, Rupert-street, Haymarket, London"; $B_1{}^a$, title of Tale XI; $B_1{}^b$, blank; $B_2{}^a$-$C_3{}^a$, text of Tale XI; $C_3{}^b$, blank; $C_4{}^a$, title of Tale XII; $C_4{}^b$, blank; $C_5{}^a$-$D_4{}^a$, text of Tale XII; $D_4{}^b$, blank; $D_5{}^a$, title of Tale XIII; $D_5{}^b$, blank; $D_6{}^a$-$E_8{}^a$, text of Tale XIII; $E_8{}^b$, blank; $F_1{}^a$, title of Tale XIV; $F_1{}^b$, blank; $F_2{}^a$-$G_3{}^b$, text of Tale XIV; $G_4{}^a$, title of Tale XV; $G_4{}^b$, blank; $G_5{}^a$-$H_5{}^a$, text of Tale XV; $H_5{}^b$, blank; $H_6{}^a$, title of Tale XVI; $H_6{}^b$, blank; $H_7{}^a$-$K_2{}^b$, text of Tale XVI; $K_3{}^a$, title of Tale XVII; $K_3{}^b$, blank; $K_4{}^a$-$L_5{}^a$, text of Tale XVII; $L_5{}^b$, blank; $L_6{}^a$, title of Tale XVIII; $L_6{}^b$, blank; $L_7{}^a$-$M_5{}^a$, text of Tale XVIII; $M_5{}^b$, blank; $M_6{}^a$, title of Tale XIX; $M_6{}^b$, blank; $M_7{}^a$-$N_7{}^b$, text of Tale XIX; $N_8{}^a$, title of Tale XX; $N_8{}^b$, blank; $O_1{}^a$-$P_1{}^a$, text of Tale XX; $P_1{}^b$, blank; $P_2{}^a$, title of Tale XXI; $P_2{}^b$, blank; $P_3{}^a$-$Q_6{}^a$, text of Tale XXI; $Q_6{}^a$, printer's imprint: "J. BRETTELL, Printer, Rupert Street, Haymarket, London"; $Q_6{}^b$, Errata.

No plates in either volume.

Two copies have been examined:

University of Michigan.

Vol. I: 96 x 160 mm. O_8 missing. Rebound.

Vol. II: 96 x 160 mm. [a]$_1$ missing. Rebound.

Columbia University.

Vol. I: 97 x 162 mm. [a]$_1$ and O_8 missing. Rebound.

Vol. II: 101 x 166 mm. Perfect. Rebound.

The fourth edition of George Crabbe's *Tales,* like the third, is of interest because it has not previously been listed by the bibliographers of Crabbe. The reason is probably the same for both editions; they have not come to

[4] The sewing, which is visible in the copy in the Library of the University of Michigan, shows that O was originally an eight.

light in European libraries. In the Library of Congress, however, a copy has been preserved. The following description has been prepared on the basis of direct examination of the volume.[5]

Crabbe, George. *Tales.* Fourth Edition. London, Hatchard, 1813.

TALES.| BY| THE REV. GEORGE CRABBE, LL.B.| (double rule)| FOURTH EDITION.| (double rule)| LONDON:| PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD,| BOOKSELLER TO HER MAJESTY, OPPOSITE ALBANY,| PICCADILLY.| (double rule)| 1813.

$[a]^3$, b^8, $[B]^8$, C-BB^8, CC^7. Pp. [iii-ix] + x-xxii + [xxiii-xxiv], [1-5] + 6-398. 31-33 lines + headline and signature line. 155-165 (144-154) x 85 mm.[6]

$[a]_2{}^a$, title-page; $[a]_2{}^b$, printer's imprint: "J. Brettell, Printer, Rupert Street, Haymarket, London"; $[a]_3{}^a$-$[a]_4{}^a$, Dedication to the Duchess Dowager of Rutland; $[a]_4{}^b$, blank; $b_1{}^a$-$b_7{}^b$, Preface to the *Tales;* $b_8{}^a$, table of contents; $b_8{}^b$, blank; $[B]_1{}^a$, half-title; $[B]_1{}^b$, blank; $[B]_2{}^a$, title of Tale I; $[B]_2{}^b$, blank; $[B]_3{}^a$-$C_3{}^a$, text of Tale I; $C_3{}^b$, blank; $C_4{}^a$, title of Tale II; $C_4{}^b$, blank; $C_5{}^a$-$D_4{}^b$, text of Tale II; $D_5{}^a$, title of Tale III; $D_5{}^b$, blank; $D_6{}^a$-$E_6{}^b$, text of Tale III; $E_7{}^a$, title of Tale IV; $E_7{}^b$, blank; $E_8{}^a$-$F_6{}^a$, text of Tale IV; $F_6{}^b$, blank; $F_7{}^a$, title of Tale V; $F_7{}^b$, blank; $F_8{}^a$-$H_4{}^a$, text of Tale V; $H_4{}^b$, blank; $H_5{}^a$, title of Tale VI; $H_5{}^b$, blank; $H_6{}^a$-$I_6{}^b$, text of Tale VI; $I_7{}^a$, title of Tale VII; $I_7{}^b$, blank; $I_8{}^a$-$K_7{}^a$, text of Tale VII; $K_7{}^b$, blank; $K_8{}^a$, title of Tale VIII; $K_8{}^b$, blank; $L_1{}^a$-$L_7{}^a$, text of Tale VIII; $L_7{}^b$, blank; $L_8{}^a$, title of Tale IX; $L_8{}^b$, blank; $M_1{}^a$-$M_6{}^b$, text of Tale IX; $M_7{}^a$, title of Tale X; $M_7{}^b$, blank; $M_8{}^a$-$N_6{}^a$, text of Tale X; $N_6{}^b$, blank; $N_7{}^a$, title of Tale XI; $N_7{}^b$, blank; $N_8{}^a$-$O_8{}^a$, text of Tale XI; $O_8{}^b$, blank; $P_1{}^a$, title of Tale XII; $P_1{}^b$, blank; $P_2{}^a$-$P_8{}^a$, text of Tale XII; $P_8{}^b$, blank; $Q_1{}^a$, title of Tale XIII; $Q_1{}^b$, blank; $Q_2{}^a$-$R_2{}^b$, text of Tale XIII; $R_3{}^a$, title of Tale XIV; $R_3{}^b$, blank; $R_4{}^a$-$S_4{}^a$, Text of Tale XIV; $S_4{}^b$, blank; $S_5{}^a$, title of Tale XV; $S_5{}^b$, blank; $S_6{}^a$-$T_5{}^a$, text of Tale XV; $T_5{}^b$, blank; $T_6{}^a$, title of Tale XVI; $T_6{}^b$, blank; $T_7{}^a$-$X_1{}^a$, text of Tale XVI; $X_1{}^b$, blank; $X_2{}^a$, title of Tale XVII; $X_2{}^b$, blank; $X_3{}^a$-$Y_3{}^a$, text of Tale XVII; $Y_3{}^b$, blank; $Y_4{}^a$, title of Tale XVIII; $Y_4{}^b$, blank; $Y_5{}^a$-$Z_2{}^a$, text of Tale XVIII; $Z_2{}^b$, blank; $Z_3{}^a$, title of Tale XIX; $Z_3{}^b$, blank; $Z_4{}^a$-$AA_3{}^b$, text of Tale XIX; $AA_4{}^a$, title of Tale XX; $AA_4{}^b$, blank; $AA_5{}^a$-$BB_4{}^a$, text of Tale XX; $BB_4{}^b$, blank; $BB_5{}^a$, title of Tale XXI; $BB_5{}^b$, blank; $BB_6{}^a$-$CC_7{}^b$, text of Tale XXI.

No plates.

133 x 215 mm. A leaf may be missing at the beginning; and, since CC has only seven leaves, possibly another leaf is missing at the end. Otherwise the volume is perfect. Rebound.

[5] I am grateful to Mr. David C. Mearns, Director of the Reference Department of the Library of Congress, and to his staff for their kindness in furnishing information regarding this edition.

[6] Since there is no half-title preceding the title-page, and since the title-page, which is not numbered, is Page iii, it seems likely that one leaf at the beginning has been lost. This being assumed, these three initial leaves will be referred to in this note as $[a]_2$, $[a]_3$, and $[a]_4$.

The latest Hatchard edition of George Crabbe's *Tales* listed by Bartholomew and Huchon was the fifth, which appeared in 1814. The copy of the seventh edition which is in the library of the New-York Historical Society is interesting not only because this edition has not previously been noted but also because it implies the existence of a sixth, also not noted.[7] The chronology of the Hatchard editions of the *Tales* makes it seem very likely that there may even have been others: although seven editions appeared between 1812 and 1815, no more are known to have been published until 1820, when John Murray issued Crabbe's works under his imprint. The fact that even these seven editions were called for within four years, however, gives some hint of the popularity of Crabbe's *Tales* during the teens of the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, only the first volume of the New-York Historical Society's copy of the seventh edition survives. A description follows:

Crabbe, George. *Tales.* Seventh Edition. London, Hatchard, 1815.

TALES.| BY| THE REV. GEORGE CRABBE, LL.D.| (rule)| IN TWO VOLUMES.| (rule)| SEVENTH EDITION.| (double rule)| VOL. I.| (ornament)| London:| PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD,| BOOKSELLER TO THE QUEEN, 190, OPPOSITE ALBANY,| PICCADILLY.| (double rule)| 1815.

$[a]^3$, b^8, B-O^8. Pp. [iii-ix] + x-xxiii + [xxiv], [1-5] + 6-205 + [206-208]. 28-29 lines + headline and signature line. 111-117 (122-128) x 72 mm.[8]

[a_1-a_1] ? a_2, title-page; [a]2^b, printer's imprint: "J. Brettell, Printer, Rupert Street, Haymarket, London." [a]3^a-a_4^b, Dedication to the "Dutchess [sic] Dowager of Rutland"; b_1^a-b_8^a, Preface to the *Tales;* b_8^b, table of contents; B_1^a, short title; B_1^b, blank; B_2^a, title of Tale I; B_2^b, blank; B_3^a-C_4^a, text of Tale I; C_4^b, blank; C_5^a, title of Tale II; C_5^b, blank; C_6^a-D_6^b, text of Tale II; D_7^a, title of Tale III; D_7^b, blank; D_8^a-F_1^b, text of Tale III; F_2^a, title of Tale IV; F_2^b, blank; F_3^a-G_1^b, text of Tale IV; G_2^a, title of Tale V; G_2^b, blank; G_3^a-I_1^a, text of Tale V; I_1^b, blank; I_2^a, title of Tale VI; I_2^b, blank; I_3^a-K_4^b, text of Tale VI; K_5^a, title of Tale VII; K_5^b, blank; K_6^a-L_6^a, text of Tale VII; L_6^b, blank; L_7^a, title of Tale VIII; L_7^b, blank; L_8^a-M_6^b, text of Tale VIII; M_7^a, title of Tale IX; M_7^b, blank; M_8^a-N_6^b, text of Tale IX; N_7^a, title of Tale X; N_7^b, blank; N_8^a-O_7^a, text of Tale X; O_7^a, printer's imprint: "J. Brettell, Printer, Rupert Street, Haymarket, London." O_7^b, blank; O_8^a-O_8^b, Hatchard's advertisements.

No plates.

This copy: 100 x 155 mm. First leaf of Quire [a] missing. Rebound. Owned by the New-York Historical Society. Volume I only.

FRANKLIN P. BATDORF

[7] The writer will be grateful for information leading to the discovery of a copy of this hypothetical sixth edition.

[8] Since both the sewing and the pagination indicate that quire [a] was originally a four and that one leaf at the beginning has been lost, these three initial leaves will be designated [a]2-[a]4.

Book Reviews

Catalogue of Books Printed in the XV^th^ Century now in the British Museum. (Part VIII. France, French-Speaking Switzerland.) London, Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1949. Text: lxxxvii, 441 pp; Facsimiles: 21 pp., 72 plates. 14 x 10½ inches. £9.

The eighth volume of the British Museum's catalogue of incunabula, which describes the fifteenth-century books from France and from French-speaking Switzerland, is (like its predecessors) from the capable hands of Victor Scholderer—a certain guarantee of careful and thorough workmanship. It is a pleasure to review so excellent a catalogue—and difficult as well, since it is always so much easier to criticize a bad book than to praise a good one.

The many problems incident to writing a history of French book-production in the fifteenth century as well as providing a catalogue of the pertinent books in the Museum's collection have been squarely met by Dr. Scholderer. It is not a simple task to devise a satisfactory way to describe such a volume as that listed by the *Gesamtkatalog* under no. 2586, where the first three quires were printed by Pierre le Rouge and the remaining portions by Gillet Couteau and Jean Menard; in accordance with the general plan, the cataloguer is obliged to arrange his entries by printer but he must still keep a semblance of unity as far as the end product is concerned. In this unusual case such unity is not provided by the miscellaneous texts included in the book as finally issued but solely through the fact that the whole volume was offered for sale as a single unit by Antoine Vérard in his capacity as publisher (not as a printer, which in itself forms a separate section of the catalogue). Such complications have been happily resolved by Dr. Scholderer.

There is much new material and many excellent improvisations in this large volume. New presses have been added to the roster and others have entirely disappeared for the sound reasons set forth by Dr. Scholderer in his Introduction; thus, for example, the books produced by the press variously known as the "Printer of the Champion des dames, of the Complainte de l'âme damnée, or of La belle dame sans merci" are here (with some reservation) credited to Jean du Pré. At this point one may applaud

the simple expedient which enabled Dr. Scholderer to distinguish the Parisian Jean Dupré from the Lyonnese Jean du Pré, though no such solution has been found for the three printers who called themselves Johannes Fabri. Even if we sort out the French Fabri (who worked at Turin and Caselle), one is still left with two Hans Schmidts on one's hands (one at Stockholm and the other at Lyons). The relationship between separate presses using the same or very similar material has also been clarified; for example, the "long-standing confusion" between the type employed by the Press at the Sign of the Green Bellows (Soufflet Vert) and that used by the firm of Caesaris and Stol has been eliminated. In the discussions of the several presses, the analysis is not confined to books present in the British Museum; some of the most valuable notes concern books not found in the British Isles.

In comparing the attributions of books "*sine ulla nota*" in this catalogue with the assignments given by the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, one is relieved to note that the two great authorities are generally in close agreement. For 123 such editions listed in "BMC" the two catalogues see eye to eye in 94 instances (or well over 75% of the cases). Again Dr. Scholderer finds that Robert Proctor's *Index* erred only 16 times by citing as fifteenth-century books editions which are now judged to belong to the following century.

Individual books too have required careful thought and reasoned judgment. Let us consider, by way of example, the history of the press attribution of the first edition of that important book, the *Roman de la rose*. Although Robert Proctor had helped Anatole Claudin in formulating his theory (1902) that the book was printed by Ortuin and Schenck at Lyons, he himself expressed his views more hesitantly at a later date. In the Morgan catalogue of 1907 (III: 45) the deceased Proctor's opinion in regard to another book is cited as: "The type appears to be the same as that of the earliest edition of the Roman de la Rose, but this may be rather the later of the two books . . . the type is said to be that of Jean Croquet, at Genève, who printed a Guillermi Postilla, but the use of Lyonnese paper rather points to that city as the place of origin." Subsequently the book wandered back and forth between these two centers of printing. Now Dr. Scholderer throws the weight of his great authority in favor of Jean Croquet and, with the collateral support of M. Polain and the *Gesamtkatalog*, one might conclude that the peripatetic *editio princeps* had at last come to rest on the banks of Lac Leman. But hold—for the British Museum's expert adds a final cautionary note (p. xvii): "here assigned to Croquet at Geneva but possibly printed at Lyons."

One can applaud the frank and reasonable approach in this volume to the difficult question of disputed authorship, which constitutes such a major problem in dealing with fifteenth-century books. On page 44, for instance, St. Bonaventura is "retained here for convenience" as the author of the *De castitate et munditia sacerdotum*, though the true paternity of this tract is unknown. Again on page 112, the *Quaternarius* appears under Aquinas though it is admitted that "the ascription to St. Thomas Aquinas is incorrect but common to all early editions." Such decisions are wise ones, as the present reviewer has emphasized elsewhere. On the other hand, if the "Doctor resolutus" (Johannes Baco) is permitted to appear in this catalogue as plain John Bacon, it seems unhappy that the great and influential Archbishop Richard Fitzralph of Armagh should be listed under so foreign a form as "Ricardus [Fitzralph] Archiepiscopus Armachanus."

This brings one to the only point of real criticism which the reviewer has to offer. Misprints there are, of course—such as Tielmann for Thielman (p. xxxiii), Paris for Parix (p. lxxi), *Opus tripertitum* for *Opus tripartitum* (p. 166) and Henricus for Heinricus (p. 364)—but such misprints are inevitable and mention is made of them here just to prove that the reviewer has been mindful of his bounden duty and has read the work most carefully. But the inconsistencies, especially in the citing of authors, are considerable. It will perhaps be allowed that names may be cited both in the Latin and in the vernacular forms (so Robertus Gaguinus and Robert Gaguin appear, even on the same page); but why have both Gui and Guy (Marchant), Geoffroi and Geoffroy (de Marnef), Cepolla and Caepolla, etc.? The first three times that the great French humanist Guillaume Tardif makes his appearance in the listings, his given name is printed as: Guilelmus (p. 14), Gulielmus (p. 53) and Guillermus (p. 57). Finally the Genevese notary Johannes Bagnion (p. 277) also appears as Jean Bagnyon (p. 368); while it may be permissible to give the Christian name its vernacular as well as its Latin form, there seems to be no valid reason to vary the surname. Nevertheless this is an improvement over the old British Museum "General Catalogue" where the same author appears as Jean Baignon (the only form recognized by the new edition) and Joannes Baguyon (for which a turned letter in the original appears to be responsible).

In any case, as compared with the many solid virtues of the new volume of "BMC," these criticisms are inconsequential. The present work is a weighty tome in more than one way, but the purchaser will assuredly get full value for his money (one is tempted to add, almost lb. for £). Another distinguished bibliographer has recently observed that "a good bibliog-

raphy can be read as well as consulted" and judged by this standard too, Dr. Scholderer's new volume on the British Museum's French incunabula (especially the two Introductions) is all one could wish it to be.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Nuremberg Chronicle, a pictorial World History from the Creation to 1493. A monograph by Ellen Shaffer. With a leaf from the pirated Augsburg Latin edition of 1497. Los Angeles, The Plantin Press, for Dawson's Book Shop, 1950. 61 pp. Facsimiles. 13½ x 9¼ inches. $15.00. Edition of 300 copies.

Perhaps no book has ever spoken more eloquently of its own time than has this *Chronicle* of the world produced in 1493, in mediaeval Latin, by six of the leading citizens of Nuremberg. To many a young enthusiast this mammoth picture-book has proved the gateway to collecting, the lure that has led him into the rare-book field. Even though its heavy Gothic type may seem illegible, as one turns its pages—more than six hundred in number—the illustrations hold one's interest to the end.

Miss Shaffer, who in the dedication of her monograph confesses to her love for the *Chronicle*, has translated this affection into practical and altruistic form. One seems to feel that she has discussed the substance of the *Chronicle* and its history often—telling some neophyte of the men who conceived and made it a reality; lifting the heavy volume from the shelves and explaining its arrangement and its context casually, and sometimes humorously, as she turns the leaves; identifying its cities and portrait-cuts, and its repeats; translating highspots in the text; chatting of subsequent editions and manuscript copies; and, finally, closing its covers and reverting to the careers of the men who made it, and to the glories of mediaeval Nuremberg, the city of its birth.

At any rate, that is what Miss Shaffer has done in her monograph, as with a deft and accustomed hand. It is difficult to think of any aspect of the *Chronicle* that is not covered or touched upon. If one had never seen the original, the monograph with its description of the book and its cleverly scattered illustrations could not fail to give a clear conception of it. But with the *Chronicle* in one hand—figuratively speaking—and the monograph in the other, the latter becomes a guide to the secrets and history of the book.

Beginning with brief biographical sketches of Schreyer and Kamermaister, who apparently underwrote the venture, one is introduced to

Michael Wolgemut and his step-son Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, who designed the illustrations; to Dr. Schedel, the Nuremberg physician and scholar who wrote most of the text to accompany the pictures; and to Anton Koberger, the famous printer, who put the *Chronicle* through the press. Adding to these the number of local craftsmen who no doubt had part in cutting the engravings and setting the type, one realizes that this monumental book was little less than a community project. No wonder that it breathes the spirit of its time.

Following the description of the physical make-up of the book is an account of its seven sections, the Seven Ages of the World, with translations of important features, such as the dual colophons and the entry for the invention of printing. And in all of this there is much detail. Interesting side lights are thrown upon the *Chronicle* and its 645 wood-engravings, which in repetition amount to more than 1800 cuts. In fact, so much is told that one could wish there were an index. Methods of distribution are discussed, as also the relative popularity and rarity of the first edition, of the German translation rushed through that same year, and of the three pirated editions produced at Augsburg between 1496 and 1500.

One of the most interesting features of the monograph is the discussion of the characteristics and techniques by which the work of the two illustrators may be identified. Another is the account of stock taken on June 22, 1509, when the remainders from the two Nuremberg editions were divided between the publishers and illustrators, or their heirs. Still another is the announcement of the existence of an English translation of the *Chronicle* made and annotated by Mr. Walter W. Schmauch of Chicago.

Miss Shaffer has done well to include in her text Mr. Schmauch's own account of his purpose in devoting his time and effort to this translation of the *Chronicle*. He is right when he says, "I have seen it in great libraries, in institutions of learning and in the prized collections of discriminating antiquarians, none of whom has an inkling of what lies buried in this beautiful black letter text." And again when he says, "It has given me a firsthand insight into the operations of the mediaeval mind. Study all the modern accounts of the Middle Ages you please, you will never obtain the same insight into the course of thought of that period as when this text begins to speak." It is earnestly to be hoped that Miss Shaffer's emphasis on the importance of this English translation and annotations, now in manuscript, may be the means of securing its much-needed publication—that, at long last, its text as well as its pictures may "speak" to us of the past.

The monograph comes to an end with an account of the latter years of the producers of the *Chronicle*. Appended, however, are a register of 274 copies of the five editions now in North America (as against 209 in the *Second Census*),[1] and a list of works consulted. The world-map reproduced from the *Chronicle* is used effectively as end-papers, and on the covers is imprinted its double-page cut of mediaeval Nuremberg. As in the original, one feels that author, publisher, and printers put every effort into making their book "click," and had a wonderful time in doing so. But there is no studied effect. Instead, the illustrations seem to be placed quite casually. Yet, as in the original, their selection and placing no doubt took exquisite care. And there are various clever touches. For instance, the prospectus entices subscribers to the monograph through a translation of the striking advertisement of the *Chronicle* itself, as issued by Koberger in 1493. As is usual, the Plantin Press of Los Angeles has produced a handsome volume in harmony with its subject, in this instance a tribute to the *Chronicle* and to a Nuremberg that is no more.

MARGARET BINGHAM STILLWELL

Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1944/49. Begründet und herausgegeben von Aloys Ruppel. Mainz, Verlag der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1949. 277 pp., 15 plates. 11 x 8 inches.

Like its predecessors, the current volume of the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* is a notable contribution to scholarship. The most competent authorities in the Germanies have contributed to its columns, and it has also been the vehicle for many a scholar from beyond the Alps and the Rhine. Its subject matter may be analyzed into two essays on the history of writing, three on the history of paper, eleven on fifteenth-century printing, seven on the history of printing in the subsequent four centuries, two on modern book art, three on binding, and four miscellaneous titles. Fifteen plates at the end contain illustrations for Heinrich Kohlhaussen's fine study of decorated writing materials during the Middle Ages in Germany, Alfredo Servolini's list of the illuminated choral and liturgical works in the Biblioteca Comunale of Forli, Armin Renker's obituaries of three students of the history of paper (Henri Alibaux, Alfred Schulte, and Karl Weiss), Alban Dold's note on two fragments of the rare octavo Latin Psalter (Proctor no. 137) of Peter Schöffer in the type of his forty-eight-line

[1] Margaret Bingham Stillwell, ed. *Incunabula in American Libraries; a Second Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in the United States, Mexico, and Canada*. New York, The Bibliographical Society of America, 1940. *Editor.*

Bible (Mainz, 1462), Theodor Musper's note on the original of the colored wood engraving on the title page of Andrea Corvo's *Chiromantia* (Venice, 1513 and 1520), the late Cesare G. Marchesini's study of the engravings of the Carracci and their school, Ernst Kyriss' fine description of the bindings of Wilhelm Winter of Erfurt (*fl.* during 1470's and '80's), and Ilse Schunke's study of the some forty surviving bindings from the Bibliotheca Corvina. Other articles are illustrated with reproductions of engravings, printers' marks, watermarks, and facsimiles of types.

Ready for the printer in 1944 but delayed for five years by the late war and its consequences, this volume maintains in every way the tradition of good bookmaking which we customarily associate with the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft. The rather small type ("Ronaldson-Schrift der Monotype-Setz-maschine") is not displeasing for a double-columned book. The paper was produced especially by August Koehler in Oberkirch (Baden) with the Society's own watermark, the Gensfleisch clan symbol (the well-known beggar with cup and staff) atop the monogram "GGM" ("Gutenberg-Gesellschaft Mainz"). The firm of the late Karl Klingspor in Offenbach prepared the illustrations, and Ernst Rehbein of Darmstadt was, as usual, responsible for the hand binding.

It would be impractical to attempt to discuss each of the contributions in this review, but a few may be singled out for special attention. Gustav Mori has once more reaffirmed his faith in his *Sandgusstheorie* in a polemic directed at Otto Hupp's essay in the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* for 1942/43. Mori, a practical typefounder of Neu-Isenburg near Frankfurt a.M., has attempted to reconstruct the story of the invention of type by experiments in his own shop; and he and Gottfried Zedler have been attempting to persuade other students of the correctness of this procedure and their conclusions based thereon for the past three decades. As Albert Giesecke points out in his essay on the metallic composition of Gutenberg's type in the current volume, Mori indulges in "pure Phantasie" in his confusion of the processes of inventive genius with the methods of the imitator. Nevertheless, we must agree with Friedrich-Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller in his recent statement that even though Zedler and Mori have attempted to lead scholars on a dangerous by-path with their *Sandgusstheorie*, we must credit them with recognizing that the most significant problems of the "Frühdruckzeit" lie in the story of the composition and founding of type.[1]

The main burden of Giesecke's essay is that Gutenberg used tin as the chief or perhaps even the only metal for the manufacture of his type and

[1] "Das Schriftmetall der ältesten deutschen Druckerzeugnisse," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, LXIII: 344 (1949).

that this continued to be the situation for another century. "Aes," he argues, was the common fifteenth-century word for metal in general, and "lead" probably referred to an alloyed metal during the same period. Schmidt-Künsemüller's essay in the *Zentralblatt* had already put forth the theory that Gutenberg used an alloy of lead, tin, and antimony. Giesecke might have referred to Carl Björkbom, *Bergsmannen och boken* (Stockholm, 1946), p. 10-16, with his competent discussion of Vannuccio Biringuccio and to the excellent English translation of *Le dieci libri di pirotechnia* by Martha Teach Gnudi with annotations by Cyril Stanley Smith (American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineering, 1942).

Inasmuch as the late Hermann Barge's essay on the history of printing in Finland is the only one in a commonly read European language on a significant chapter in the history of printing, it should be examined fairly closely and certain corrections made. One wonders, in the first instance, how a generalized and undocumented account such as this ever managed to find its way into the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch;* but, aside from this consideration, it is not altogether accurate.

No mention is made of the *Missale Aboense,* printed in 1488 by Bartholomaeus Ghotan in Lübeck, the first book printed for use in Finland and probably the only "Finnish incunable." Barge states confidently that Agricola's notable *Abckiria,* the first printed book in Finnish, was printed in Stockholm in 1542, a questionable date repeated by the reviewer in *The Library,* ser. 5, IV, 283-284. The late Isak Collijn has shown that Amund Laurentsson, to whom he ascribes the book on the basis of typographical evidence, took over the royal print shop in Stockholm not later than 1543 and assumes that the *Abckiria* was printed as a part of Luther's Shorter Catechism in 1543 in conformity with a statement in Messenius' *Scondia Illustrata.* However, E. Granit-Ilmoniemi, discoverer of the two fragments from which we know the *Abckiria,* argued that it was printed by Jürgen Richolff in Lübeck in 1537 or 1538 when Agricola was studying in Wittenberg.[2]

On p. 150[b] Barge refers to a *Gesangbuch* edited, he alleges, by Jacobus Petri Finno (Suomalainen) as having been "vermutlich in Stockholm gedruckt" and dated 1582. The only *Gesangbuch* printed in 1582 for Fin-

[2] E. Granit-Ilmoniemi, *Quin Abckiria ensin on* (Helsinki, 1931), p. 38-44; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600* (Uppsala, 1927-1938; 3 volumes; "Skrifter utg. av Svenska litteratursällskapet," v. 10), II, 118-124, 177 *et seq.;* and Frederik Wilhelm Jos. Pipping, *Förteckning öfver i tryck utgifna skrifter på finnska* (Helsinki, 1856-1857; "Suomalaisen kirjallisuden seura," v. 20), p. 1, no. 2.

land was *Piae Cantiones*. The title-page of this book is reproduced by Carl-Rudolf Gardberg in his monumental *Boktrycket i Finland intill freden i Nystad*,[3] and thereon we read very easily below the title-page device "Imprimebatur Gryphisuualdiae, / per Augustinum Ferberum." The same title-page gives a Nylander, one Theodoricus Petri Rutha, subsequently to acquire fame as a neo-Latin poet, as the compiler; but the "reverend and right honorable gentleman who has done so much for God's church and the Åbo school in Finland" (t.-p.) and who "revised" this collection was unquestionably Jacob Finno. Probably of greater significance than this Greifswald imprint were Finno's prayer-book and psalm-book, both printed in 1583 by Andreas Gutterwitz in Stockholm. Finno's duties at Åbo included the responsibility of "wenda några nyttiga Böker in på thet Finska tungomål" ("translating some useful books into Finnish");[4] but his first effort, a Catechism, has never been found, and the date of its printing is not known.

Barge states (p. 150[b]) that Bishop Ericus Erici's *Postilla* (Stockholm, Christoffer Reusner, 1621-1625; 2 parts) had 1,229 and 970 pages respectively, but Gardberg,[5] who was working directly with the books he describes, counted 2,246 quarto pages. Incidentally, the *Postilla* was the last work that Reusner printed for Finnish readers.

On p. 152[a] Barge refers to the service of Peder Wald, Finland's first printer, under the famous Bishop Rudbeckius from 1635 to 1642 in "Wâsterås," but that city's name customarily appears in modern German and Swedish as Västerås and never in the form used by Barge.

Barge states on p. 152[b] that Michael Wexionius' *De Prudentia* is the first Finnish imprint, but in reality there is no way of knowing whether it or Georg Alanus' *De aere in specie* can claim priority.[6] Wald's font did not arrive in Åbo until 2 November 1642, according to the consistory's protocol. Wexionius had delivered his lecture as early as 18 December 1641, while Alanus did not give his until 10 December 1642. The two documents, in their printed form, contain twenty and twelve pages respectively; but there is no way of knowing which was first set up in type. Both imprints read simply "ABOGIAE / *Typis Exscribebat Petrus Wald Acad. Typographus*, / ANNO 1642."

On p. 152[b] *et seq.* Barge spells the name of Peder Hanson (who suc-

[3] Helsingfors, 1948; Åbo diss.; p. 31.

[4] Jacob Tengström, *Handlingar till upplysning i Finlands kyrkohistorie* (Abo, 1821-1832; 9 volumes), IV: 21.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

[6] Holger Nohrström, *Strövtåg bland böcker* (Tammerfors, 1935), p. 14-21.

ceeded Wald as academic printer on 27 September 1654 and soon thereafter married his widow in order to "konservera boet"!) as "Hansson," but neither Hanson himself (in his imprints) nor any modern authority uses this form. Before Hanson died in 1679 (to be succeeded in bed, board, and occupation by his apprentice, Johan Wall), Johan Gezelius, bishop of Åbo from 1664 to 1690, had set up a rival shop in 1668 with Johan Winter as his printer. A few notes should be added to Barge's sketchy account, particularly the fact that Winter printed in 1685 a complete Finnish Bible, the largest work produced by any printer in seventeenth-century Finland. Moreover, Barge's story about the paper supply for Åbo printers ought to have had at least a footnote to the effect that the paper mill in Tomasböle in Pojo was supplementing Finland's paper imports as early as 1667.[7]

When Bishop Petrus Bång of Viborg established a press in that twice-lost city in 1689, he employed a former typefounder and illustrator from the Åbo print shop, Daniel Medelplan (form used consistently by Gardberg, not Medelplaan, which Barge uses) as the foreman. Medelplan was dismissed in 1693, and he was succeeded by Matthias Syngman (1694-1697), Syngman's widow, Elisabeth Rödh (1697-1704), and finally by Thomas Abbor (1708-1709). Details such as these, so essential for the history of printing, are overlooked by Barge, although the length of his essay would have permitted their inclusion. On the other hand, Barge must be credited with giving us a good insight into the significance of printing in Finland for the national culture, perhaps even more than Gardberg and Pipping in some respects. But he is sailing under false colors with his deceptive title indicating comprehensiveness.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

Buch und Papier: Buchkundliche und papiergeschichtliche Arbeiten Hans H. Bockwitz zum 65. Geburtstage dargebracht. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1949. Plates. 164 p. 10 x 6⅞ inches.

A fitting tribute to the work of the Director of the Deutsches Museum für Buch und Schrift in Leipzig, this is also an acknowledgment of his sixty-fifth birthday and of his thirty years' service with the museum, twenty of them as Director.

Horst Kunze draws the curtain with his appreciation of the achievements and the position so worthily held by Bockwitz in the study of paper making and the whole lore of paper. Fritz Blaser of Lucerne follows with

[7] Gardberg, *op. cit.*, p. 167 and p. 357, note 11.

the tale of a paper mill planned for the canton in 1831 by Jost Ludwig Schnyder, but for uncertain reasons never brought beyond the proposal. No user of books, no maker of books, will fail to appreciate the study of indexing related by Dr. Horst Kunze, nor forget to applaud his last words voicing the pious hope that his remarks may serve to bear fruit and assure us better indexes and indexing. E. J. Labarre adds a fascinating picture of "the sizes of paper, their names, origin and history." Professor Dr. Wilhelm H. Lange offers a study of the economic and intellectual and cultural sides of the spread of the printer's art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, pointing out that the new craft was swept along by no aimless winds and currents, that it called for a sizable investment in material and equipment, that a fitting apprenticeship to a competent master was quite as important, that though we now know about the successes we can but guess at the failures. Dr. Arthur Luther analyzes the pictorial work of German artists illustrating Russian poetry in such noteworthy fashion after the first World War. Armin Renker pays warm tribute to Alfred Schulte as student of the history of paper making. Dr. Karl Schlottenlohner portrays the book trade in relation to the two early religious sects in Germany, the "Schwärmer" and the "Wiedertäufer." Dr. Johannes Schubert offers a study of the Na-khi early oriental pictographs; Dr. Carl Wehmer makes a critical examination of the work of the early engraver "d," particularly in connection with Schreiber 2746a and 2865; and Bror Zachrisson, of Stockholm, adds to our studies of the readability of types.

All in all, this *Festschrift* will appeal to everyone with any interest in the historical and antiquarian sides of the making of paper and of its use as material for transmission of the immaterial word and thought, and is also a significant contribution to bibliography, printing, the book trade, book illustration, and the making of prints.

H. M. Lydenberg

Goldschmidt, E. P. *The Printed Book of the Renaissance.* Cambridge, At the University Press, 1950. [x], 93 pp. 32 cuts, 8 collotype plates. 11½ x 9 inches. 750 copies. $13.50.

It is, perhaps, fortunate that the present reviewer was unable to attend E. P. Goldschmidt's three lectures on "The Spread of the Renaissance by Means of the Book" which are printed in the volume under review, since no dimly recalled fragments of the author's fine scholarship and urbane wit could thereby intrude upon the pleasure of encountering these essays for the first time. The lectures appear in this book as three chapters, headed respectively: Type, Illustration and Ornament.

In the first section, the author traces the gradual displacement in the fifteenth-century book of the black-letter by founts of roman type. He shows that, whereas roman type from the very first was used for the classics, gothic letters continued for some time to serve scholasticism, contemporary law and science, and the other conservative and traditional disciplines. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that roman type successfully invaded these fields, but from that time on the popularity of this style of type never waned. This reviewer regrets that Mr. Goldschmidt did not see fit to include in this discussion some analysis of that humanistic fount *par excellence*, the italic—especially the philosophy behind it or (to paraphrase the author) what sort of an expression of an attitude of mind this fount portrays.

It is good that here (and elsewhere in these essays) Mr. Goldschmidt calls to mind certain facts which are continually lost sight of, even by scholars conversant with this period. It is proper, for example, to stress again and again the sombre truth that the fifteenth century, as compared with our own day, "was a much more civilized world that knew no barriers of language and of nationalism. In every part of Europe there existed a certain percentage of people who could read, a much smaller percentage no doubt than at present, but those who could read, could read Latin. In the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, Latin was not yet a dead learned language, it was *the* language in which people read and wrote." And Mr. Goldschmidt rightly adds a note of professional pride when he says: "It is plain that a most important factor in the propagation of humanistic books and of Renaissance ideas and forms was the book-trade." Naturally there are a few slips here as in every work of this sort—thus, for example, in connection with the English university presses—but it would be pedantic to dwell on such details.

In his second essay, the author stresses the fact, which may once again be best summed up in his own words: "The history of the illustrated book in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is an account of its losing struggle for survival. By 1550 the illustrated book is dead." It was replaced by the picture book, which is defined as "the book of plates accompanied by explanatory letter-press." It may come as a surprise to many readers to learn that there were practically no illustrated manuscripts in the renowned libraries formed by the Medici, Federigo da Montefeltro or Matthias Corvinus. As a rule, the humanist collector preferred his manuscripts unencumbered by fanciful images. One does, however, occasionally encounter illuminated manuscripts of classical texts which were written and decorated in this period. For example, an illuminated Greek

Aesop of the latter part of the fifteenth century was formerly in the famous Phillipps collection (sale, Sotheby, 1 July 1946, lot 26A); it is pleasant to recall that this fine manuscript now forms part of the Spencer collection in the New York Public Library. The absence of illustrations amongst the classics printed in the original tongues is also noted by Mr. Goldschmidt; the reading public had to wait till 1493 before being able to purchase a Latin classic decorated (or "vulgarized," depending on one's point of view) by woodcuts or other illustrations.

In the last chapter of his work, Mr. Goldschmidt discusses the contrary fact that other decoration (especially border ornament) was quite satisfactory for the printed classics, though publishers' devices were not favored by such distinguished purveyors of ancient texts as Jenson, the first Sorbonne press and the firm of Sweynheym and Pannartz. If a minor correction may here be offered to Mr. Goldschmidt's text (see page 70), it is that the Aldine Musaeus of 1495 does not contain a frontispiece as he states. Actually there are two woodcuts included in the midst of the Latin section, which was printed several years later than the Greek text. They appear there for a technical reason which need not detain us now; though the woodcuts may be derived from Byzantine originals, they are obviously at some remove from these sources.

Mr. Goldschmidt's new volume is a splendid and noteworthy book whichever way one looks at it. It is, I suppose, inevitable that the luxurious collotype plates, the numerous figures and the excellent typography combine to make this sumptuous book an expensive one. As regrettable as this may be, *The Printed Book of the Renaissance* is a volume which it is not only a pleasure to possess but also, in keeping with Renaissance traditions, a joy to read.

CURT F. BÜHLER

FREER, P., and VARLEY, D. H. *A Bibliography of African Bibliographies, Revised to February, 1948*. Cape Town, South African Public Library, 1948. 52 pp. 8½ x 5½ inches. (Gray bibliographies, no. 2.)

This endeavor to record the bibliographies for the whole continent of Africa and the adjacent islands was first published in *South African Libraries* for October, 1942, and January, 1943, and has now been revised by the original compilers with the assistance of A. M. Lewin Robinson. In the arrangement, general works and catalogues are given first, followed by Africa regionally divided, and then by subjects in alphabetical order. In addition to the separately published works, an effort has been made to register bibliographies appearing in periodicals and as sections in

books, and even unpublished works on file in various institutions. For the Union of South Africa, the record is most extensive, there being a noticeable amount in Afrikaans, one of the two official languages. On account of the great area of Africa as well as differences in language and interest, and of imperfect means of intercommunication, it is recognized that there may be addenda to the present work to be published in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*. Not only should this work by Freer and Varley make easier the approach to African materials, but with the knowledge of the existence of materials accelerate the desire to collect.

JAMES B. CHILDS

JONAS, KLAUS, *comp. A Bibliography of the Writings of Somerset Maugham.* [South Hadley, Mass.], 1950. xvii, 97 pp. Frontispiece (portrait), facsimiles. 8½ x 5¼ inches. $4.00.

STOTT, RAYMOND TOOLE, *comp. Maughamiana; the Writings of W. Somerset Maugham. Being a Handlist of Works by William Somerset Maugham and of his contributions to certain selected periodicals. Together with an Introduction and some Notes on the Periodicals.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, 1950. xiii, 73 pp. 8¾ x 5½ inches. $3.00.

The well arranged and printed Jonas bibliography should be of great service to the neophyte Maugham collector, and since any literate person can hardly have avoided encountering the writer in either library or theatre (even if he had wished to do so) during the past half-century, the book makes interesting reading in its own right—though annotations are held to the minimum, and phrased in rather an exotic style. ("There exists hardly any book by Mr. Maugham which justifies so well modern bibliography as THE PAINTED VEIL in which significant variations appear.") The Compiler's Foreword acknowledges help from both Mr. Maugham and his secretary; from Professor Karl G. Pfeiffer of New York University, who owns an important Maugham collection; and from several other professors. Frederick T. Bason's Maugham bibliography (London, The Unicorn Press, 1931), which has identically the same title as Mr. Jonas', was probably of some use too, although Mr. Bason is not included in the expressions of gratitude.

The index is confined to names only (forty of them with wrong page numbers, as indicated on an enclosed errata sheet, which calls parentheses "brackets"), so that one must roam at large through several chronological lists of novels, plays, and short stories. Titles of translations are included

with the entries under the titles of the first English and American editions. *The Razor's Edge,* one may learn, is "Op het scherp van de snede" in Dutch, "O fio de navalha" in Portuguese, and "Den vassa eggen" in Swedish.

It seems evident that the compiler has consulted the *Essay and General Literature Index* for the section headed "Books Containing Material on Somerset Maugham," though he does not explain his omissions: John Gassner's *Masters of the Drama,* A. B. Walkley's *More Prejudice,* H. J. Muller's *Modern Fiction,* Frank Scully's *Rogues' Gallery,* etc. *The Saturday Review of Literature* anthology, *Writing for Love or Money,* including Maugham's "How I Write Short Stories" is not listed in "Books Containing Contributions by Somerset Maugham," nor is Alexander Woollcott's *Second Reader* (New York, Viking Press, 1937), which contained *Cakes and Ale* (also known as *La Ronde de l'Amour* and *Honung och Malört*).

It seems a pity that the compiler did not consult some librarian at nearby Mount Holyoke College and prevent the disconcertingly large number of misspelled proper names, conscientiously copied in the index. To cite only a few: Elizabeth Dew for Elizabeth Drew, John Beercroft for John Beecroft, Jacques de la Cretelle for Jacques de Lacretelle, Terence Holiday for Terence Holliday, Eden Philpotts for Eden Phillpotts, Clemence Randolphe for Clemence Randolph, Frederick Millet for Frederick Millett. And Romney Brent's name is not Brent Romney.

In reply to the compiler's question to Thomas Mann "whether there exist any relationships between Thomas Mann and Somerset Maugham," Dr. Mann graciously replied: ". . . Ich schätze Maugham als Erzähler sehr hoch, unterhalte aber keine persönlichen Beziehungen zu ihm und glaube auch kaum, dass innere Beziehungen zwischen seinem und meinem Werk bestehen." This in indeed gratifying.

Maughamiana comes close on the heels of the Jonas bibliography, and immediately supplants it ("I am authorised by Mr. Somerset Maugham to state that this bibliography has his approval and supersedes any previous bibliography. R.T.S.") The discussion of points and issues is obviously authoritative, without being dogmatic; the annotations are more detailed (compare, for instance, the treatment of the *Painted Veil* imbroglio in the two books), and the bibliography of biographical material is much fuller. There is no index. The book was bound from English sheets, hence Mr. Stott's conceptions of the spelling of American names are kept intact. He calls John T. Winterich "Winterton"; Rouben Mamoulian "Reuben"; Duffield & Co. "Driffield" (as in *Cakes and Ale*); Glenway Wescott

"Westcott"; the Viking Portable Library the "Post Library"; and the *Atlantic Monthly* the "Atalanta Monthly" (there is a tantalizing suggestion of golden apples here). To be impartial, Stendhal appears as Stendal.

Translations are also included. "In France [Maugham] was recognized long before critics in this country [England] began to take note of him, while in Spain today he is not only the most popular foreign novelist, but *the* most popular novelist. The number of serious critical works published on the Continent in different languages is an indication of the high esteem in which he is held, not only as a writer of entertaining fiction, but as a serious commentator on the tragedies and comedies which together go to make up life." Few readers will care to deny the truth of this.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

JOHANNSEN, ALBERT. *The House of Beadle and Adams, and Its Dime and Nickel Novels; The Story of A Vanished Literature.* Norman, The University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. Volume I, xxiv, 476 pp.; Volume II, 443 pp. Portraits, facsimiles (some colored). 11½ x 8 inches. $20.00.

"Written for collectors of Americana, librarians, and booksellers and for those who are nostalgic for the books of their youth," says Mr. Johannsen on his dedicatory page, and that is an accurate summation of the whole meaning and purpose of this monumental piece of bibliography.

Like the grab-bag culture of which the dime novels were a phenomenon, there is something for everybody in the 900-odd pages the author has assembled in seventeen years of loving labor. As Americana, of course, the volumes can safely be acclaimed as a definitive discussion of the single aspect isolated here.

Librarians, booksellers and bibliographers can rejoice in the mass of annotated material, although some may wish it had been arranged differently. Mr. Johannsen is scholarly and most thorough in his presentation of this material, beginning with two chapters on dime novels *per se* and the authors, artists and readers who contributed to their fame. Then he devotes the remainder of his primary text to a detailed history of the firm of Beadle and Adams, tracing it from the early days in Cooperstown and Buffalo, *circa* 1830, until competition killed and buried the venerable house in 1897.

All this is calculated to entertain and enlighten each of the categories of readers for whom Mr. Johannsen is writing, but the bibliographer will find most to interest him in the succeeding listings. First, a numerical list of the various series of Beadle novels, including also books other than novels, biographical booklets, handbooks, songbooks, schoolbooks, periodicals

and the numerous other literary enterprises the firm embarked upon to wring out another honest dollar.

Another section provides biographies of the firm's authors, alphabetically arranged. Finally comes an appendix as monumental as the project itself. Here is a list of the principal Beadle publications, arranged in the order of appearance of No. 1 of each series, and giving the dates of the first and last numbers and the numbers in each year; dates at which the firm changed names and addresses; a list of the number of novels in each series, compared with the number never previously published by Beadle; a listing of Beadle reprints in Ivers' and Westbrook's "Deadwood Dick" and "Frontier" libraries; pseudonyms of various Beadle authors; condition and values of the publications; pre-Beadle novels; a list of some magazine and newspaper articles dealing with dime novels, their authors and dime-novel collectors; an index of titles and sub-titles; and an index of principal localities, characters, series, Indian tribes, forts, and types of stores in the first printings of the Beadle novels.

The general index, comprehensive as it is in its thirteen pages, comes as an anticlimax.

While the questions raised by studying this vast record of a vanished era in American publishing are innumerable, and will keep bibliographers, as well as collectors, librarians, and booksellers in conversation for some time to come, there is one broad query that may be relevant here.

Did the millions of words turned out of the Beadle and Adams presses have any significance in American life other than simple entertainment?

After examining these volumes, particularly the 169 splendid illustrations in Volume One which reproduce in sepia, color and black-and-white the first pages of Beadle and Adams publications, it seems to me that whatever good effects were achieved in reminding Americans of their romantic past were lost in the multitude of misconceptions generated about it.

In his foreword, John T. McIntyre makes much of the fact that the dime novels were "our very own," a popular literature which owed nothing to European models. That is true, but whether this rough border literature actually contributed very much to our culture is, I think, open to doubt. When one looks behind the veil of sentiment and nostalgia which inevitably accompanies any consideration of the subject, it is quite possible to see that the dime novels filled generation after generation of young Americans with an exaggerated, and in many cases a completely erroneous, idea of their own history which succeeding generations of popular historians have not been able to erase.

There are probably millions of people still alive in this country who think that Indians talked and behaved as they did in the dime novels and Cooper's tales, and who believe, as their small sons believe in the Saturday movies, that the good guys are always to be found on one side and the bad guys on the other. In the dime novels, the good guys are usually sturdy, upright American frontiersmen and pioneers, while the bad ones are invariably British, Indians, or other foreigners. And the foreigners, like the Negroes, are grotesquely caricatured.

There is good reason to believe that these attitudes, planted by a sturdy, vigorous literature, grew and thrived in uninformed minds and persist today to the detriment of our national life.

But all that, of course, is not Mr. Johannsen's problem. He has documented this literature in the most admirable manner, and those to whom these volumes are addressed must be everlastingly grateful to him for it, and to the University of Oklahoma press for the excellent format in which it is presented.

JOHN TEBBEL

SPINDEN, HERBERT J. *Tobacco is American; The Story of Tobacco before the Coming of the White Man.* New York, The New York Public Library, 1950. Frontispiece, 18 plates. xiv, 120 pp. $5.00. (Arents Tobacco Collection, Publication No. 2.)

It may seem odd to review an eminent ethnologist's essay on tobacco in a bibliographical journal. It was, however, a great bibliographical undertaking which made this valuable little volume possible—the formation by Mr. George Arents of the world's greatest collection of books on tobacco, now one of the chief ornaments of the New York Public Library. It was Mr. Arents who commissioned the distinguished curator of the Department of Primitive and New World Cultures of the Brooklyn Museum to prepare this essay, and it was to the Arents Collection that the author turned for much of his knowledge of tobacco's prehistory. The resulting study is the simplest and clearest restatement of what is known of tobacco before the arrival of Columbus, with the addition of much new information and the correction of numerous old errors and misconceptions.

This charming volume is not only well and interestingly written but contains attractive reproductions of the earliest known pictures of prehistoric tobacco smokers and their paraphernalia, it is accompanied by four clear and necessary maps, and appears in an attractive format designed by Mr. John Archer and printed under his supervision in an edition of 500

copies at the printing office of the New York Public Library. The text ends with a nine-page list of the principal authorities on the subject, which should satisfy most casual readers and pipe smokers, but if the essay arouses still more scholarly curiosity in the mind of the reader, he has only to turn to the monumental published catalogue of the great Arents Collection itself. Dr. Spinden's little volume serves admirably as an introduction to Mr. Joseph C. Roberts' *The Story of Tobacco in America* (1949) and his *The Tobacco Kingdom* (1938).

When we encounter a drought we send a professional rain-maker up in a plane with a load of dry ice or some other modern scientific hocus-pocus, but in 432 A.D. an ancient priest blew a cloud of tobacco through a tubular pipe as a symbolic prayer for a rain cloud. This we know from our earliest picture of a tobacco smoker, found in a bas-relief in the Temple of the Cross at Palenque in southern Mexico and used as the frontispiece of the present volume. In a series of seven absorbing chapters Dr. Spinden explains the divine origin of smoking among the Maya, the invention and diffusion of pipes, the primitive word tobacco, certain botanical considerations, tobacco as universal medicine, and the differences between *Nicotiana rustica,* the old tobacco of Mexico and the United States which was a pipe and cigarette tobacco, and *Nicotiana Tabacum,* the cigar tobacco of Peru and most of South America.

These seven chapters, a scholarly but most readable combination of archaeology, ethnology, linguistics, medicine, botany, religion and folklore, tell us that tobacco was first used in religious ceremonies and as a universal medicine for the curing of many diseases. Later the people of Central America discovered that it was a pleasant habit to use tobacco in pipes, cigarettes and in cigars and that it might also be used as a "chew," as snuff or in liquid form. Tobacco gradually travelled north and east, arriving in New England along with agriculture only a few generations before the white man. Tubular pipes can be dated as early as the sixth century after Christ and were followed by cigars and pipes with bowls. There were many words for tobacco and the various ways of using it, but the word "tobaco" itself first appeared in print in Oviedo's *General and Natural History of the Indies,* the first Spanish edition of which appeared in Seville in 1535. We hope that these few crumbs and shreds of tobacco will be so attractive that you will want to cram all of the rest of the fragrant leaves into your pipe. You may be sure of many a delightful pipe dream from this excellent essay whether or not you smoke, chew or dip snuff.

R. W. G. Vail

NASH, RAY, *ed. The Isaiah Thomas Donation.* Hanover, N. H., Dartmouth College Library, 1949. Illus. 36 pp. 6¼ x 9½ inches.

Many of us have muttered, at the risk of being regarded as bibliographical illiterates, that we wished that the libraries in which we are interested would not waste so much money on beautiful exhibition catalogues which are of no value after the exhibitions are broken up. The handsome pamphlet which Professor Nash prepared for the Isaiah Thomas exhibition at Dartmouth is not one of those of merely ephemeral interest. He prints an account of the relations of the great publisher to the college which adds to our knowledge, and he prints a list, not only of the Thomas Donation books which he could recover, but of the volumes in the original gift not now to be found in the library. He even reproduces the donation bookplate to make easier the pleasant job of hunting down the titles that have escaped. This bibliography will also serve to provide a quick answer to the questions which every college librarian receives regarding the books available in his institution in the past. And, with a kindly recognition of the problems of librarians, Mr. Nash has lettered the title of his pamphlet on the backstrip.

C. K. SHIPTON

WROTH, LAWRENCE C. *Typographical Heritage: Selected Essays by Lawrence C. Wroth.* The Typophiles, 1949. viii, 162 pp. 7¼ x 4½ inches. $5.00. [Typophiles Chap Books: XX.]

This attractively printed and attractively bound little volume gathers together five essays and addresses on printing and its historical or cultural aspects. Four have been printed before, but some belong to the ephemera of exhibition catalogues, specialized volumes of treatises in limited editions, or *Festschriften.* It is pleasant to have them in this more accessible and convenient form. One, an address on the "British Influence Upon American Printing," delivered in 1946 on the occasion of the award of the American Institute of Graphic Arts' medal to Mr. Stanley Morison, is printed for the first time. One or two have been slightly revised in reprinting, original footnote material has been incorporated into the text, or conclusions restated. The whole makes a varied and readable volume.

Here is the address on "Printing and the Rise of Modern Culture in the Fifteenth Century," delivered at the opening of the exhibition with which the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1940 celebrated the five-hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing, and originally prefixed to

the catalogue of that exhibition entitled *The Fifteenth Century Book.* More technical is *"Corpus Typographicum,"* a review of English and American Printers' Manuals from Moxon's *Mechanic Exercises* (1693) to De Vinne's *Practice of Typography* (1904), together with a discussion of the relationships of these treatises in the form of a family tree. It is reprinted from *The Dolphin II,* published by the Limited Editions Club in 1935. More specifically American are the two final articles: "Benjamin Franklin: the Printer at Work," and "The First Work with American Types." The former was one of the papers delivered in the course of the "Meet Dr. Franklin" Conference conducted by the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia in 1939-1940, and printed in a collected volume under the title of the Conference (1943). The latter appeared as a contribution to *Bibliographical Essays. A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (1924), and is in reality one of a series of articles or book chapters by Dr. Wroth upon the history of early American typography and its significance for American printing in later centuries.

Typographical Heritage has been designed by Fred Anthoensen and set in Linotype Monticello, a type originally cut for *The Jefferson Papers* (Princeton University Press). It has been printed by The Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine, and bound by John Marchi. Of the 625 copies printed, 375 are for subscribers and contributors, and 250 are for sale.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT